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An Irish Quarterly Review

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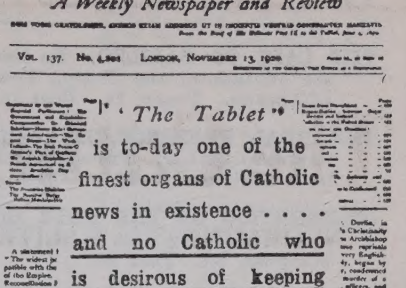
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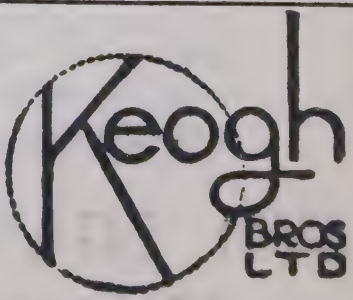

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AN ALTERNATIVE TO CAPITALISM

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

IN the world-wide conflict between Capitalism and Socialism the Catholic Church has become reluctantly and unfortunately involved. The Church is against Socialism. No fact in the history of the Socialist Movement stands out more plainly than this. A catena of utterances against Socialism by the last five Popes: Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI, could be quoted were they not too well-known to need repeating before educated Catholics.

If the language of the Encyclicals did not speak clearly enough, the actions of the living Church and the living Socialist movements in the different countries of the world for the last seventy-five years would convince any clear-eyed observer that Catholicism and Socialism are at enmity. Some may say that this enmity is not natural and inevitable, but is due to historical accidents and misunderstandings, but the fact of enmity cannot be denied.

Nevertheless there are large numbers of Catholics in Great Britain who call themselves Socialists and who belong to Socialist organisations. They persuade themselves that their Socialism is a peculiarly British Socialism, very different from continental anti-clerical Socialism, and that it is only continental anti-clerical Socialism that the Popes have condemned.

I think I am justified in believing that the position in Ireland is similar to that in Great Britain. Socialism has made headway amongst professing Catholics. It is no purpose of this article to state the case against Socialism;

but I must make it clear that I assume that the Church does condemn Socialism, in Britain and in Ireland as elsewhere, using the word Socialism in its generally-accepted sense.

As I am now trying to describe a practical difficulty met with in my own experience, I may be pardoned a rather free use of the first person singular. For nearly twenty years I have been strenuously engaged in the propaganda of Catholic social teaching amongst Catholic working people. I have condemned Socialism, as I felt obliged to do unless I made nonsense of the *Rerum Novarum*. At the same time I have maintained that the Church condemns Capitalism as well as Socialism. I will not stop to justify my attitude on this point, for I have no reason to suppose that it will be challenged by instructed Catholics. I can say from experience that anti-Socialist propaganda which had the appearance of being pro-Capitalist propaganda would be resented amongst Catholic working people and would do more harm than good.

For quite a considerable period one can carry on propaganda by impartially denouncing both Capitalism and Socialism and making the general assertion that the remedy for social evils lies in the application of Catholic principles. The time comes, however, when your audiences begin to ask you for something more constructive and detailed. What are the actual reforms that Catholics would propose? The question cannot be indefinitely shelved. It is not adequately answered by making a selection of reforms that figure in the programmes of various political parties. Some of these reforms are capitalistic in the sense that they are intended to make Capitalism more secure; others are socialistic in the sense that they are intended as steps to Socialism. It is very unsatisfactory for us to be denouncing our opponents at the same time that we are dressing ourselves in their clothes.

A school of Catholics in Great Britain have advocated

the multiplication of small properties. This is a genuinely Catholic policy, and has the emphatic approval of Pope Leo XIII; but it is advocated by the school to which I refer in a way that suggests that Great Britain must cease to be a great industrial and commercial nation and must become again a little agricultural island. This reactionary utopianism has its attractions for all of us, especially in our moments of weariness, but it has no chance of being accepted as a solution of our social problems. It envisages a fate that may befall us if we fail to find a solution.

To recapitulate what has been said: those who expound Catholic social teaching must condemn both Capitalism and Socialism, but if we condemn them without offering any other alternative we stultify ourselves. We irritate conservative Catholics, and we hasten the drift of other Catholics to Socialism.

What is Capitalism? It is the system in which the means of production are owned and controlled by a comparatively small section of the community and the mass of the people depend for their living upon working for wages; and in this system wages and prices and conditions generally are determined by competition, by legally unregulated bargaining between man and man.

Capitalism pure and undiluted exists nowhere in the world, because everywhere there are now some legal restrictions placed on competition. The integrity of Capitalism is encroached upon not only by limitations of competition, by minimum wage laws and factory legislation, but by forms of public provision which make the workers less entirely dependent on their wages, as social insurance against sickness and unemployment, pensions for the aged and widows, free meals for necessitous school children, and so forth. The sphere of Capitalism is also limited in so far as there are State and municipal industrial enterprises: posts, tramways, gasworks and hundreds of other things. Co-operative societies limit the capitalistic field. If trade unions are very strong, they may be said

to make a society less capitalistic because they lessen the effective control of the capitalists over the means of production. A society is less capitalistic the more widely distributed is ownership, for the more numerous the owners the fewer will be the dependent wage-workers and the less extensive will be the class conflicts resulting from a divorce between ownership and work.

There is no purely capitalistic society anywhere, but many societies can be called dominantly capitalistic. Great Britain is undoubtedly the most capitalistic nation in the world, for she has the highest proportion of her people propertyless and dependent upon wages for livelihood. It is true that in Great Britain there are the strongest trade unions in the world and much of the most advanced social legislation as well as highly developed co-operative and public industrial enterprises. The United States have less regulation of competition, less provision of public services, and less co-operation. Nevertheless, the United States, with their large agricultural population and widely distributed property, are less capitalistic than Great Britain.

It would be unreasonable to define Capitalism only by its evils and to deny it credit for its remarkable material achievements. Yet it is, I think, a system un-Christian in its principle and inhuman in its operation. The best-known Catholic writers on social questions appear to adopt this view, but here it cannot be argued but only stated. The question to be here discussed is what alternative system can be proposed by Catholics.

The principal non-Catholic alternative to Capitalism is Socialism, which means the ownership and control of the means of production by the community instead of by individuals. The Church rejects Socialism, and upholds individual ownership of productive property as a natural right. There are various forms of Socialism, the two most important being State Socialism in which the functions of ownership and control would be exercised by the State,

and Guild Socialism in which the State would own the means of production, but their control would be vested in national unions or guilds of the workers of each industry.

Guild Socialism is no more compatible than State Socialism with the Catholic doctrine of the right of private property. It is extremely interesting, however, to study the Guild Socialist plan of separating the rights of ownership from those of control. The Guild Socialists desire the separation because they believe that State control would be oppressive to the workers. Guild Socialists would not leave the means of production unconditionally in the hands of the several national guilds. They perceive that such crude Syndicalism would be anarchic sectionalism. There must be some authority representing the whole community and regulating the relations of the various guilds of producers to the whole body of consumers. By vesting the ownership of the means of production in the State the Guild Socialists believe that they secure safeguards for the whole community whilst giving the workers in the different industries the fullest possible autonomy.

Saving the right of private property, Catholics must naturally have a strong sympathy with the Guild idea which is confessedly derived from the industrial system of the Catholic Middle Ages. Is it possible to have a modern Guild system not with State ownership but private ownership of the means of production ? I venture to say that if Guilds based on State ownership can successfully carry on industry there is no reason in the world why Guilds based on private ownership should not be able to do the same. Whether either is desirable, or one more so than the other is matter for argument, but if the practicability of socialistic Guilds is granted there can be no unworkableness in Guilds which depend on privately-owned property.

We can conceive, for instance, of the State owning all the railways of a country and delegating their management to a Railway Guild. The State would regulate the charges

that the Guild may make to the users of the railways very much as it imposes restrictions on capitalistic railway companies to-day. The State would also insist on the Railway Guild maintaining a certain standard of service. Further, the State would require from the Railway Guild a contribution to the public revenues, not only for general governmental purposes but to meet interest and sinking fund charges on the railway property, for presumably the State would have bought the railways from private owners and not confiscated them, and the purchase money would have been raised by loan. Apart from these conditions the Guild would be free to run the railways according to the wishes of the railway workers.

Now suppose that a Railway Guild had equally complete control of the railways with their ownership vested not in the State but in private individuals. The Guild would, of course, be subject to State regulations as to charges and standards of service as capitalistic companies are now. Private shareholders would lose the rights of control, but they would retain the rights of ownership. Ownership without control would not be an empty term. It would mean rights to real benefit in the shape of dividends or interest on capital invested. Nothing is more familiar to the modern capitalistic world than stocks and shares which carry with them no rights of control in the business where they are invested but only a right to an annual income or a participation in profits. Debenture bonds and preference shares are of this kind. In many businesses the bulk of the capital is in these forms, and only a small proportion ranks as "ordinary" shares, which carry with them rights of controlling the business. Another difference between ordinary and preference shares, which happens to be relevant to our purpose, is that the returns to the latter are at a fixed maximum rate, while the former may appropriate indefinite profits if they are available.

A Railway Guild, consisting of all the workers on a

railway from managing directors down to goods porters, might run a railway and have no responsibility to the shareholders beyond that of paying them dividends. There should be a maximum dividend fixed, for it would be necessary to deprive ordinary shareholders not only of control but of their right to indefinite profits. Those who control a business should always have the claim to any surplus that the business produces; otherwise there is never likely to be a surplus. Managers and workers, not passive owners of dead capital, have the power by enterprise and efficiency and economy to produce a surplus. If they receive the surplus, there is the greatest possible incentive to those actively engaged in railway work to achieve the maximum of efficiency. An exception has to be made for speculative businesses in which capital takes great risks, as in prospecting for and proving mines.

The owners of capital, deprived of control, must yet have their interests properly guaranteed. If they were bought out by the State in a socialistic scheme, they would presumably receive payments guaranteed by the State even if the concerns taken over by the State did not prove profitable: they would be paid out of the general taxes and not necessarily from the earnings of the socialised businesses. This treatment of private owners is satisfactory enough from the private owners' point of view, but it is rather more generous than justice requires. Three or four years ago there was a great agitation in Britain for the nationalisation of the coal-mines. The nationalisers were quite favourable to the mines being purchased, not confiscated. They would have purchased them at a valuation based on their profit-making capacity at that time and an average period preceding. Had nationalisation been effected on these lines, all the mine-owners would now be thanking their lucky stars for nationalisation, for they would now be receiving guaranteed interest on Government bonds. As it is, many of them are losing money on their mines and

few of them are making any profits. From causes which the capitalists cannot control and which the Government could not have controlled there is a world-wide fall in the demand for coal. The industry cannot make a profit, and the private owners are bearing the loss; but if the mines had been nationalised the loss would be falling on the Government.

In depriving capitalists of control they should not be put in the position of bondholders who are creditors of a concern with a right to interest on their investments irrespective of whether the concern is making a profit or not. They should remain shareholders, receiving dividends out of profits when there were profits, and their dividends should be cumulative; dividends passed one year should count as arrears to be paid in future years. The controlling Guild should not have power to rob the owners of dividends by paying unduly high wages and salaries. To secure this, salary and wage scales should be fixed on the lowest levels compatible with justice and these should not be exceeded until the liabilities to capital had been met. It is quite easy to guard against the shareholders being deliberately cheated. It must be admitted that it is less easy to guarantee the owners against loss arising from inefficient control by the workers. Various methods might be devised, but we will leave this point for the present with the remark that the present system does nothing to safeguard the workers against loss from the inefficiency of capitalists.

It can confidently be stated that there is no inherent impossibility in such a scheme of Guild or workers' control as is here outlined. It has no difficulties that would not be encountered by State Socialism or Guild Socialism. It does not make such a dangerous attack on vested interests, to say nothing of moral rights of property, as any form of Socialism would involve and the consequent risk, one might say certainty, of revolution and civil war. It need not be applied to all industries at once and it can

quite well co-exist with State and capitalistic enterprises such as we know at present. It would avoid the special evils of capitalism, and it would give the workers every inducement to put forth their best efforts, because they would know that they were working for themselves and for the community, not for the piling-up of capitalistic profits. What is opprobriously called " unearned income," that is, income derived from the ownership of property as distinct from labour, would still remain, but instructed Socialists will admit that this is not such a very serious item ; their chief indictment against Capitalism is not that it causes such bad distribution of wealth but such bad production.

Whether workers' control would prove efficient is a question that cannot be absolutely proved or disproved in advance of the experiment. It would not be unnatural to doubt whether the mass of workers would show sufficient discipline, adaptability, enterprise and far-sightedness to make success possible. What is here proposed is the extension to the world of industry of those democratic principles which have been adopted in our political systems. One might desire that, before venturing on an experiment in workers' control, we should rather strive for joint control between owners and workers. This would probably be extremely helpful as a transitional stage. Unfortunately there is no sign that capitalists are willing to give a trial to joint control. At the famous Sankey Commission on the Coal Industry in Great Britain, Lord Gainford, spokesman of the coalowners, said :

> I am authorised to say, on behalf of the Mining Association, that if owners are not to be left complete executive control, they will decline to accept the responsibility of carrying on the industry ; and though they regard nationalisation as disastrous to the country they feel they would, in such event, be driven to the only alternative —nationalisation on fair terms.

Capitalism has brought us to an impasse. Strikes and ca' canny have become chronic diseases of our present

industrial system. Men decline to work wholeheartedly under capitalistic dictation for capitalistic profit. Capitalists decline to carry on industry unless they have complete executive control themselves. Men and machines are rotting through unemployment while the world has urgent need for the things that industry should produce. The only alternatives seem to be Socialism and a Guild system such as is here adumbrated. At all events, I would repeat what I emphasised in beginning this article, that if Catholic social teachers condemn both Capitalism and Socialism they must have some practical scheme to place before the world. HENRY SOMERVILLE.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

NO. I—BY REV. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

Professor of Moral Theology, Catholic University of America
Director, Department of Social Action, N.C.W.C., Washington

AT least two interesting questions are raised by Mr. Somerville's article. The first concerns the position restated in the concluding sentence: "If Catholic social teachers condemn both Capitalism and Socialism, they must have some practical scheme to place before the world." The second question refers to the merits, ethical and economic, of his proposed "Alternative to Capitalism." On both points I am in agreement with Mr. Somerville.

"Catholic social teachers," and even the Church, may properly speak, and have spoken, on industrial problems in several different ways, as regards principles and as regards methods. Under the former head, the Church deduces from the moral law general rules for the guidance of industrial relations and institutions. Examples of this action are the declarations of Pope Leo XIII on the right of labour to a living wage, the duties of labour relating to a fair day's work and abstinence from violence, and various obligations of employers. In the field of method the Church may adopt one or both of two courses. It may pronounce moral judgment upon certain proposals of reform, by way either of condemnation or approval. For example, Leo XIII condemned the Socialist scheme of industrial organisation as morally wrong, and approved labour unions. The second kind of action in the field of method comprises not merely the passing of moral judgments, favourable or unfavour-

able, upon reform measures, but the active advocacy of certain measures and even the suggestion or proposal of new ones. Here again we can cite Pope Leo XIII, in his recommendation of the multiplication of property owners by the state, certain kinds of industrial associations, and a great variety of legislative remedies.

Obviously, the difference between these two policies, under the head of reform methods, is a difference in degree only, or of emphasis. If a favourable moral judgment is passed upon a certain proposal of industrial improvement, it is easy and natural to take the further step of active advocacy. If the Church, or "Catholic social teachers," think it necessary or wise or expedient to recommend existing proposals of industrial reform, it may easily become reasonable for them to suggest reform measures that have not previously been considered. The extent to which Church authorities or influential Catholics may go in the positive advocacy of methods and measures, should be determined by the opportunity which these proposals present for the realisation of Christian principles in everyday life.

The scheme proposed by Mr. Somerville is sound from the viewpoint of both ethics and economics. The only ethical question involved is whether the shareholders in a joint stock company, or as we more frequently say in the United States, a corporation, may justly be restricted to a fixed and moderate rate of interest on their investment. That question is sufficiently answered in the common practice of thus limiting the returns to preferred stockholders, and to debenture-holders, or as we say in this country, bond-holders. To be sure, the stockholders require and get a higher rate of interest than the bondholders, to cover their greater risk. That would have to be a feature in Mr. Somerville's scheme. The fundamental justification of a limited and fixed rate of interest for the stockholders is the fact that the great mass of them perform no more labour in connection with the industry than do the bondholders. A final, practical justification of the proposed limitation is to be found in the fact that men do now put their money into enterprises which limit the interest on their investment.

From the economic viewpoint, the proposal is much more scientific and efficient than the arrangement which gives surplus profits to non-working stock-holders. If the latter are getting a fair rate of dividend, they do not need the inducement of indefinite profits in order to put or keep their money in a business. On the other hand, it is the working directors of a business that are responsible for its efficiency or inefficiency. Hold out to them the inducement of surplus profits in addition to their salaries, and they will

work hard to create the surplus profits. Thus the speculative and flexible rewards of an enterprise will be related to efforts and not to mere ownership.

There is at least one concern in the United States which is operated substantially according to the plan proposed by Mr. Somerville. It is the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Massachusetts. While not all the employees of this company share in the surplus profits, a considerable and growing proportion of them do so. How rapidly the rank and file of the workers could be admitted to participation in the profits is a question of detail that has no determining influence on the soundness of the scheme itself. How widely the plan could be extended over the industrial field is likewise a question of practical expediency.

John A. Ryan.

No. II.—by hilaire belloc

The Capitalist system is the direct result of the revolt against Catholic morals which became definite in the sixteenth century and acquired corporate power in the seventeenth.

Capitalism has produced, or is accompanied by (it is a part of and a partial cause of) the futile paganism into which everything in Europe non-Catholic is now sinking. (I say futile because this neo-paganism shows no constructive power, and even its abominations are unco-ordinated).

We of the Faith, met by this enormous evil, are asked how we are to remedy it.

The answer is simple. The whole flood can only be met and tamed by the re-establishment of the Catholic Church as the Moderator of our civilisation. Failing that, its worst evils can be checked, as to-day they are checked by individuals, through the presence of Catholicism in a sort of island fashion: an exceptional power, differing from and violently contrasting with the rapid change for worse of the world around us. But such isolated action is but a check or hindrance and very sporadic. Only the political domination of Catholicism could affect the whole.

I insist that this is the main point.

With Europe generally Catholic again, it would not matter whether the social machinery were called Capitalism or anything else. With Europe mainly anti-Catholic there is before us the breakdown of Europe, which no mere change in social mechanism can save.

In the mere point of mechanism, however, I recognise that

Mr. Somerville proposes a system essentially the same as that expounded years ago in greater detail by Mr. Cecil Chesterton and myself in the old *Eye-Witness*. He says that the novel machinery which we proposed and which he re-states is not incompatible with the Catholic doctrine of human society.

I agree of course: indeed it is only as a Catholic that I used to advocate the thing. Granted the gigantic evils which Capitalism has implanted in a society not only non-Catholic but violently anti-Catholic, the Guild system may make a sort of bridge between the diseased condition of our civilisation and a return to health.

But I still maintain that the main principle underlying even a Guild system is a general distribution of property, and that through this, if men's minds were attuned to right living, sanity might return.

I perceive that Mr. Somerville has alluded to this conception of the redistribution of property in the modern State as a suggestion that Great Britain would cease to be an industrial and commercial nation and become a little agricultural island. Here he falls into an error common in our daily Press, which cannot or will not appreciate the idea of widely distributed ownership of stocks and shares and warrants, urban rentals, state and municipal script, etc., and can only imagine small property in the shape of peasant proprietors.

Those who advocate a distribution of property as the main mechanical remedy (useless of course without a change in morals and philosophy—for your pagan fool would sell his birthright at once) do not propose an agricultural England any more than they propose a feudal England, or a barbaric England. They simply propose an England in which the mass of the shares in industry, as of the cultivatable land, as of houses and all the rest of it shall be controlled in the most complex possible way by as large a number of families as possible. And they say that if this distribution were effected in a society which loved ownership, the problem would be solved; for laws and customs would follow suit, and the present methods of spoliation would be atrophied.

They further say that to attempt such a revolution in a society where men desire to live without responsibility on the highest possible wages or to accumulate wealth without work by gambling and cozening, is impossible.

May I conclude by saying that, in my personal judgment, no such change is a practical proposition in English society to-day, for it is not desired. The English people are sick of the professional politician and his parliamentary vanities. They do intend—in a vague fashion—to "get something done" by over-riding the moribund institution at Westminster. The mass of them were

heartily in sympathy with the "direct action" which forced a subsidy for the miners a few months ago. But the change they desire is not one towards a better distribution of property. They aim at a permanent, secure and sufficient *wage* free from the civic responsibilities of ownership. H. BELLOC.

No. III.—BY REV. JOHN KELLEHER, S.T.L.

Professor of Theology, St. John's College, Waterford

WHATEVER one may think of the practicability or sufficiency of the specific Alternative to Capitalism which Mr. Somerville advocates, there can be no question about the importance or timeliness of the discussion he has inaugurated. As he rightly remarks, the time has come when Catholics must bring forward something in the nature of an economic programme, something constructive, something which will be more helpful than denunciations of existing Capitalism or warnings against the menace of Socialism. It is not that the role of chronic agitation is altogether without its advantages. On the contrary, from what might be called a purely tactical point of view it might have much to recommend it. It looks heroic, and it is cheap, requiring neither thought nor sacrifice. In view of the brief memory and shallow consideration of the public, it might be profitable for Catholics as for others to gain popularity by persistent denunciation of oppressive Capitalism, and to retain that popularity merely by transferring their denunciations against the tyranny of Socialism or whatever other form of economic organisation should succeed to Capitalism. But I need not say that such a role would be altogether unworthy of sincere Catholics. If they cannot abide Capitalism, then they should be prepared to say whether they accept Socialism, and if they do not, what practicable form of economic organisation would meet their approbation.

Yet I doubt if it is necessary or even desirable for Catholic publicists to attempt to formulate a new principle of economic organisation different from the unacceptable Capitalism, which shaken and discredited though it be, still holds the field, and the equally unacceptable Socialism which at present appears to be the sole alternative. We are inclined to attach too much importance to such terms as Capitalism, Socialism, Communism, Distributivism, etc., thereby creating the delusion that the economic organisation is something consciously constructed according to a deliberate plan. In reality, of course, it is nothing of the kind. Capitalism as we know it at present is the outcome of a multiplicity of forces, moral, unmoral and immoral. No individual or body of individuals

ever conceived a capitalistic form of organisation and then set themselves deliberately to bring it into existence. Similarly if Capitalism goes down, although the Socialist movement may be the greatest factor in its overthrow, still the organisation that will succeed it will not be Socialism as conceived by its intellectual authors, but something that will be the resultant of all the economic and human forces which shall be set going at the collapse of Capitalism. This is not to be taken as an endorsement of Marx's Materialistic Conception of History. I do not mean that material forces always determine the form of economic organisation. Material forces do undoubtedly play an important part, but they are moved and directed by human forces, which in turn are swayed by all manner of human motives. What must be regarded as indisputable is that these forces, material and human, while they may be influenced by conscious effort, can never, human nature remaining what it is, be directed towards a form of organisation preconceived according to definite ethical standards.

Mr. Someville is of opinion that, because both existing Capitalism and aspiring Socialism are out of harmony with Catholic ethical principles, Catholics should be prepared to put forward and press their own ideal of economic organisation. With great respect I venture to disagree with him on this point. While it would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of ethical principles in the social and economic relations between individuals, or even in the public regulation of these relations (as for instance in determining equitable remuneration for labour, humane working and housing conditions, etc.), it would be a mistake to imagine that no economic organisation can be tolerated which does not satisfy the requirements of a strict ethical standard. As a matter of fact neither the Natural Law nor Supernatural Revelation makes any provision for the establishment of such an organisation. The Natural Law enjoins the necessity of some efficient form of organisation, but leaves it to the interplay of material and human forces to determine what form the organisation shall take, and both the Natural Law and the Christian Dispensation require that, the organisation once established, its just and reasonable provisions should be conformed to. So it happens that, of the economic organisations with which history has made us familiar, such as Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism, there is not one which could satisfy even a moderate ethical standard, or which any practical Christian of not over sensitive conscience could deliberately set about establishing. Yet all these have existed in Christian countries, and have been tolerated by the Church—even Capitalism itself,

under which, as Pope Leo XIII. has observed, "a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." Mr. Somerville may be right in thinking that the system of Capitalism is unchristian in its principle and inhuman in its operation. But the point is that we have no definite Christian and human system to substitute for it, and I cannot see that our Catholic religion imposes on us any obligation to devise such a system or even gives us specific guidance sufficient to enable us to attempt to do so with any reasonable prospect of success.

To my mind, therefore, it is not a matter of principle for Catholics to propose a special form of economic organisation. It is altogether a question of practical expediency, *viz.*, whether we can work more effectively for the promotion of social justice and public welfare with or without such a definite objective. As far as I can gauge the situation, it is my strong conviction that to be committed to a definite ideal, such as that so skilfully sketched by Mr. Somerville, would prove far more a hindrance than a help. In the first place a form of economic organisation formally put forward as Catholic would require to be very carefully qualified and adjusted ; it would as a consequence appear timid and halting, missing the majestic comprehensiveness and direct simplicity of Socialism, and would on that account be far less attractive as an ideal for the general public. And this must never be lost sight of, that there is no use in coming forward with any proposed new system, no matter how equitable or excellent in itself, unless it can be made attractive to the masses of the people.

Perhaps nothing could better illustrate the truth of what I am trying to convey here than Mr. Somerville's own suggested alternative to Capitalism. It is evident that he has given the matter careful consideration, and he has certainly succeeded in making clear his position. Yet I doubt if his alternative would be found sufficiently orthodox for certain Catholic economists, and I have no doubt at all that it would not be able to hold its own against Socialism in an appeal to the imagination of the public.

Strange to say, it is on the very point of Private Ownership, to which Mr. Somerville himself attaches so much importance, that its orthodoxy would be most open to criticism. Of those who agree with Mr. Somerville that Private Ownership is a *sine qua non* of any economic organisation that is to pass as acceptable to Catholics, many will be dissatisfied with the rather shadowy Private Ownership which he contends may be retained under the Guild system. And not unnaturally would they be dissatisfied ;

for after all the principle of Private Ownership is commonly insisted on by Catholic economists mainly, if not entirely, because of the right it implies to personal control over the objects possessed. To the ordinary mind it looks like hair-splitting to insist on a distinction of moral value between Socialist and Private Ownership Guilds when in both cases the present owners would be equitably compensated, and when in both cases too the original owners would be allowed no voice in the management of the industry. Such a distinction might possibly save the face of Private Ownership, but only the face, for the substance would be completely lost. On the other hand, others less sensitive to nice ethical distinctions would be inclined to say boldly: If that is all Private Ownership means, it is not worth bothering about; let us go in for full blooded Socialism, which is so much simpler and more intelligible.

In the next place the possession of a consistent ideal of economic organisation, while it might do something to consolidate the activities of Catholic social workers, would be much more calculated to paralyse their efforts altogether. Since as Catholics it would not be open to them to achieve their ideal by revolutionary methods, of necessity they could only direct their activities towards gradually transforming the existing conditions. At the same time the very fact of having a definite ideal would very often prevent them from attacking the abuses which call for immediate treatment. Unless they could see their way to make the immediate remedies work towards the ideal they hoped to see established, there would be a strong temptation for them to leave the abuses alone as hopeless evils of a vicious system. The danger would be that, whereas they could hope to realise their ideal only by gradually modifying existing conditions, they might feel prevented from attacking the existing conditions because their ideals could not be made applicable to them. In other words, they might be so preoccupied with a distant ideal that they could not or would not deal with existing problems. This is a danger which no one who has closely observed the activities of idealists in this as in other departments of social life will be disposed to make light of.

Finally, there is one other consideration which to me appears to constitute a strong practical objection against Mr. Somerville's proposal. One of the most pronounced effects of the operation of the capitalistic system in recent times is what may be called the wage mentality which it has generated in the mass of employees, a mentality which leaves them indifferent to the success of their respective industries and unfitted to discharge the responsibilities of management. We have had some pretty sad experiences of

this fact in our own country in the difficulties with which anything in the nature of co-operative production has had to contend. If Guilds as visualised by Mr. Somerville were attempted in a small scale at first, as would be inevitable, there can be no doubt that they would be sorely tried by this defect. Of a certainty the management would often be inharmonious and inefficient; sometimes discontent would be rife, so that taken all round the results would compare unfavourably with what had been achieved under the old system. It may not be unreasonable to hope that these shortcomings would gradually disappear with education and experience on the part of the workers, but not, I fear, before there had been so many failures and so much dissatisfaction as would produce a reaction in favour of the old fashioned Capitalism, and would go far to re-establish and, as it were, provide an apology for its worst abuses.

Anything that I have said so far must not be taken as implying a policy of despair, as if nothing remained for Catholics but to sit down patiently under an intolerable Capitalism, which now more than ever appears to be hastening us on to economic collapse. Although it may not be advisable for us as Catholics to put forward an Alternative to Capitalism, it is incumbent on us for many reasons to devise some definite scheme of reform consistent with Catholic principles, some scheme which will make for tolerable conditions of human life and save us from the economic precipice over which we now appear to be tottering. While I can find nothing in the Church's guidance which could warrant us in proposing any particular form of economic organisation as distinctively Catholic, we have quite an abundance of principles of justice and charity from which it ought to be possible for us to construct an excellent and attractive programme of reform or reconstruction. We may spare ourselves the unprofitable labour of trying to decide between the merits or demerits of rival forms of organisation, such as Capitalism, Socialism, Distributivism, etc.; but we can have a shrewd eye for the evils of Capitalism as it exists amongst us at present, and make full use of the rich stores of Christian teaching in our search for remedies. Herein we shall be but following the example of Pope Leo XIII., who in his great Encyclical on the Condition of the Working Classes gave such a masterly exposure of the evils of modern Capitalism, yet did not suggest that an Alternative to Capitalism should be sought, but devoted his attention to definite points of reform, such as wages, working conditions, and diffusion of property. It may prove to be the most satisfactory answer to Mr. Somerville's question: "What are the actual reforms

that Catholics would propose?" If our efforts prove successful we may find in practice that, even without intending it, we have produced an Alternative to Capitalism. But that is only a small matter; we shall have produced what is far better worth striving for, a condition of society where the claims of justice, humanity and Christian fraternity receive practical recognition.

I fear that Mr. Somerville's timely and suggestive article has caused me to prolong these remarks to an unreasonable length, and now consideration for the patience of the Editor and readers of STUDIES prevents me for the present from attempting to develop the suggestion thrown out in the last paragraph to anything like the extent its importance would prompt me. In conclusion I can only say that for us in Ireland there is an urgent call and a bright prospect for an effort of this nature. In many ways we are going through a period of transition. New ideas are being ventilated, old bearings are being lost, forces are beginning to be consolidated, and groups are being formed. What the ultimate issue will be it would be vain to attempt to forecast; but one thing it is safe to predict, the issue for religion will be determined to a very considerable extent by the wisdom and energy with which competent Catholics actively intervene in our practical, social and economic problems. Even if we desired it, these problems cannot be divorced from religion. Ultimately they have to be decided by the masses of the Catholics of Ireland, and the decision must have a vital effect on their religion. The masses here as everywhere else must get light and leading from some quarter. Leaders of Catholic thought have many obvious advantages in appealing to their fellow-Irishmen and fellow-Catholics. If they prove too timid or too indifferent to avail of their opportunities, they may rest assured that there are others who will be only too ready to step in and cultivate the field they have neglected.

J. KELLEHER.

No. IV—BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

MR. SOMERVILLE makes some rather large assumptions which he does not attempt to prove. He says, for example, that "the Church condemns Capitalism as well as Socialism," and explains that he will not stop to justify his attitude on this point, "for I have no reason to suppose that it will be challenged by instructed Catholics." Again, he says that Capitalism is "a system unchristian in its principle and inhuman in its operation," and, while assuring us that the "best known Catholic writers on social

questions seem to adopt this view," goes on to assert that "here it cannot be argued but only stated." It seems to me that what the Church and "the best known Catholic writers on social questions" have condemned is not capitalism but the abuses of capitalism, and that it is the duty of students of social questions to examine how far a system actually in operation may be reformed before advocating its root and branch abolition.

Another assumption which we are asked to take on trust is that capitalism tends to reduce the number of owners of industrial property. This was one of Marx's most fashionable fallacies and has been completely disposed of by the course of actual events. The growth of the joint stock company has immensely multiplied the number of persons owning a share in modern industries. The number of shareholders in one of the great English railways to-day is at least as large as the number of workers employed, and many of these shareholders are themselves working-men or associations for the investment of working-mens' savings. If Mr. Somerville is correct in his assertion that "a society is less capitalistic the more widely distributed is ownership," he should rejoice at the decapitalising of society which is actually in progress.

Mr. Somerville's proposal for a system of guilds depending on privately owned property suffers from two vital defects. In the first place the manner in which the workers would exercise their control is nowhere explained. Some light on this obscure point is surely necessary before such a scheme can be accepted. The history of the producers' co-operative movement is one long record of the failure of democratic control in industry, and there is no reason for assuming that a method that has uniformly failed in the past would succeed in the future. The second vital defect of the proposed scheme is that nowhere is there any provision made for the furnishing of new capital for fresh enterprises. In the example given of the railway, the existing shareholders and their representatives would receive fixed annual interest as long as the enterprise succeeded in earning a profit under its new management by the railway workers. A maximum would be fixed, but no minimum beyond a vague provision for the accumulation of arrears. It does not appear whose duty it would be to see that rates of wages and of freights would be fixed at such a level as would give the shareholders a reasonable expectation of not being deprived of their total income. Mr. Somerville says that such regulation would be "easy." Personally I don't see how it would be possible, not to say easy, without an elaborate system of supervision and control by the State, which is the very thing above all others which

Mr. Somerville, in his hearty and commendable hatred of Socialism, is most anxious to avoid. Even then, it would only be possible in the so-called "sheltered" industries, as it is obvious that no power on earth could fix rates of wages and profits at a figure that would satisfy everyone in the case of an industry that has to sell its products at international competitive prices. What would happen of course in practice would be that the owner's interest would be ground to nothing between the upper millstone of minimum wages and the nether millstone of world prices.

But I do not intend to pursue this point further, as nobody is surprised any more at any proposal for depriving property owners of their incomes. The superficially innocent formula of separating ownership from control is merely one of the many forms under which such confiscatory proposals are masked. The point I wish to direct attention to is that the proposed scheme does not apparently envisage the possibility of new capital ever being required. It is easy enough to transform existing shareholders' rights into fixed interest-bearing bonds, with a maximum but no minimum limitation; but what about the provision of new capital for fresh enterprises in the future? The capitalist may be an inhuman oppressor and an unchristian brute, but he does at least provide the filthy lucre without which even the most idealistically controlled business cannot be undertaken. Does Mr. Somerville think that people will accumulate savings in a régime such as he has suggested? The answer is undoubtedly that people of a saving disposition would, in such circumstances, either develop into spendthrifts or else would place their savings abroad. The difficulty of obtaining capital for improving the English coal mines is an illustration of this; the coal mining industry has been made the subject of so many proposals, all of them more or less confiscatory, that it is unable to obtain the capital necessary to render possible that improved operation which is vital to its very existence. Indeed, Mr. Somerville's admission that "an exception has to be made for speculative business in which capital takes great risks" shows that he feels the force of this contention. But, it may be asked, do not the investors who supply the ordinary capital of every new company (as distinguished from the purchasers of public loans, etc.) take great risks? Are mines any more speculative than railways? Let Mr. Somerville glance at the present price of Irish railway stocks.

The scheme, in fact, suffers from the defect inherent in every socialistic or semi-socialistic Utopia, namely, that the human nature (not to say the common sense) of the investing public is overlooked or ignored. The danger of the supply of capital being dried up in

a socialistic state was finally and convincingly exposed by the late Mr. W. H. Mallock, and that danger would be as great in Mr. Somerville's guild state as in the most thorough-going Marxist republic. Indeed it is curious that Mr. Somerville himself claims for his scheme that "it has no difficulties that would not be encountered by State Socialism or Guild Socialism," and further that, "if the practicability of socialistic guilds is granted, there can be no unworkableness in guilds which depend on privately owned property." In other words, Mr. Somerville's scheme has no difficulties except the insuperable ones; but these can be overcome by granting the very premises on the proof of which his whole argument depends.

It seems to me that capitalism is the only method of organisation by which industry in the twentieth century can be conducted, and that the only fruitful subject of discussion is, not how it may be abolished, but how it may be purged of its abuses. It is important to remember that this process of reform is actually taking place, and that many of the most glaring evils which disfigured the capitalism of the early nineteenth century—such for example as unrestricted competition and child labour—have already been abolished in most civilised countries. Mr. Somerville admits that "capitalism pure and undiluted exists nowhere in the world," and he enumerates many of the forms of public provision which make the working-class less entirely dependent on their wages. The true line of advance towards the betterment of society is surely that which has been already pursued so far with success. Nobody of course will deny that a depressingly great deal still remains to be done, but the way to get it done is not by constructing schemes which depend for their success on the creation of a new mentality among all classes, and serve only to distract attention from the more practical, if less romantic, occupation of finding appropriate remedies for particular evils.

GEORGE O'BRIEN.

NO. V—BY REV. JOSEPH E. CANAVAN, S.J.

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THE statement that the Church condemns Socialism needs careful qualification. If we prescind from all Socialist doctrines except those which bear upon the rights of private ownership, we must maintain that the Church condemns those who hold that all property is robbery, an outrage on the natural law; those, too, who teach that while ownership of non-productive goods may be justifiable, the ownership of productive goods is at all times and in all

places unjust. If, moreover, the supporters of these erroneous opinions endeavour forcibly to dispossess present owners by stirring up the people to violent action, the Church's condemnation of them is vehement and definite. The Old Testament, the Gospels, the Fathers, the great mediaeval theologians, and Leo XIII. in his Encyclicals assert the right of men to acquire true and perfect ownership by legitimate titles of any and every commodity.

Supposing, however, that an economist who held no such views about the natural law, nor the rights which flow from it with regard to property, who even explicitly acknowledged that ownership of the means of production might be valid and lawful, nevertheless maintained that in a particular community, for positive reasons which he sets down, State ownership of the means of production was advisable for the private and public good; if, moreover, he advised the executive to dispossess and compensate private owners: would he be acting against the declared teaching of the Church? Many who call themselves Socialists go no further than this; and though such conduct might be un-Catholic in a particular commonwealth, because of certain general principles which govern the advocacy of change in the social order, it would not, I fancy, be fair to say that the Church condemned it in the abstract as a false economic expedient. For even were it adopted, the institution of private property would not be totally abolished, and the right to own productive goods themselves would not be questioned in conditions favourable to its exercise.

However, this solution to one brought up on Catholic principles and reverent towards its traditions would be the last to be considered, because the conditions that could justify it would appear to be quite abnormal. His prejudices, his reasonable prejudices, would militate against the taking of such a step. He would incline rather towards a wider extension of ownership as the safer and more natural remedy. And in doing so he would rely not on the authoritative condemnation of the Church, but rather on the ideals it recommends and admires. Mr. Somerville's proposals are, therefore, thoroughly Catholic, and, if realisable, they would go far to establish the social order according to Catholic ideals.

To put forward a scheme like this, is one thing; to take it for granted that a Catholic social reformer, specifically as a Catholic, should advocate these or similar adjustments tending to sweep away the institution of Capitalism, is another thing. We must be on our guard against attributing to the Church a sweeping and comprehensive condemnation of Capitalism. The Church does not condemn the extensive private ownership of capital. She

does condemn a selfish use based on the plea that human activity is purely for personal ends, that wealth may be increased without due regard for the rights and needs of others, that workmen may be bought and sold like cattle, that labour has not an objective value, that fair wages are not the first charge on capital, and that abundant possessions carry with them no obligations of charity. She looks with suspicion on capital being concentrated in the hands of a few, because the few are thus put in train to exercise an excessive control over the rest of mankind. Beyond this, she does not go. No doubt she favours wide distribution as a guarantee of justice and independence between citizens. But she does not condemn the institution of Capitalism, if its evils are adequately held in check.

They may be held in check by inducing into capitalists and workmen a right mind with regard to labour and wealth; by supporting trade unions; by advocating wise remedial legislation; by encouraging wage-earners to save and by giving them special facilities to do so; by pressing the duties of charity. Capital need not be attacked directly; though, of course, the trend would be to increase the numbers of owners. A Catholic may not feel called upon to put forward any other proposals than these, as the proximate means of social reform. A Catholic might legitimately maintain that his first duty is to instruct the conscience, and that everything else is subsidiary. If men lack the right principles, no external organisation will secure the ends of justice. And he may go further and maintain that the Capitalist System should, in the present state of affairs, be left substantially intact, subject to certain readjustments and safeguards as circumstances demand. For he may reasonably fear that any other policy would lead to disaster. One is not bound, precisely as a Catholic, to demand an alternative to Capitalism.

J. E. Canavan.

PROHIBITION IN PRACTICE

BY JOHN J. HORGAN.

THE issues raised by the increasing public control of personal conduct are amongst the most serious and far reaching of the many social problems now agitating the world. The necessities of the war years permitted most of the European states to arrogate to themselves rights of control over the liberties of their citizens which they have been slow to surrender and in many cases have sought to enlarge. But the outstanding example of this tendency is to be found in the United States, where Prohibition, a veto by the civil law on the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes, has been in force since 1920. It is the purpose of this article to discuss the results achieved as gathered from personal observation and public information,[1] and to draw from them such lessons as may be of use.

It is well to realise first of all that Prohibition is something entirely different from temperance and total abstinence. Temperance, a word frequently given a most intemperate meaning, is a virtue by which one uses liquor or any other material thing in reason and moderation. Total abstinence is a voluntary act which may be inspired by a variety of motives, such as penance, good example or physical dislike. Prohibition is entirely different in that it is imposed by force of law and is not necessarily a virtue. All decent people advocate real temperance, many practise total abstinence, but there is a sharp and bitter division of opinion on the question of Prohibition.

The Catholic position in the matter seems to be per-

[1] Most of the statistics and facts quoted in this article are taken from the public press, the Anti-Saloon League Year Books and the proceedings of the United States Senate Committee on Investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, Parts 13 and 14, which deal with Prohibition enforcement.

fectly clear. Prohibition cannot be justified on the grounds that liquor is an essentially evil thing. All material things, whether drink or food or clothing, are the creation either actually or potentially of God who meant man to use and enjoy them rationally. Matter is not evil *in se*. Long ago the Church condemned this fallacy when dealing with the Manichean heresy. Alcohol as such is therefore no more evil than wheat or water or fruit. It is the abuse of alcohol which is bad, and this is the only possible ground for the discussion of the drink problem.

It raises another and far reaching question, namely: "What are the limits within which the State is entitled to regulate the abuse of intoxicating liquor?" In my judgment they are clearly defined. It is not the function of the law to make people good. This may sound at first sight a startling statement, but it is nevertheless true. The essential functions of the law are to preserve order, maintain justice and protect the community. It can only go outside these functions when it receives general public support. The attempt has often been made to deal with various forms of vicious self-indulgence, to abolish extravagance by sumptuary laws, to suppress idleness, prostitution and gambling, and the main result generally has been to bring the law into contempt. The truth is that moral evils can be most effectively combated by moral agencies. It is a truth which is too often forgotten by reformers, and particularly by temperance reformers. They cannot see the wood for the trees, and the magnitude of the evil which they properly denounce blinds them to the ultimate consequences of legislative repression. When such evils constitute a public nuisance and cause disorder, the law can properly deal with them and in fact does so with a certain amount of success. Pushed beyond this point the result is failure, and sometimes worse than failure, through the disinclination and corruption of those who administer the law. Some forms of vice, such as gluttony and idleness, cannot

be touched at all because they do not interfere with public decency and order. The law can of course indirectly encourage or discourage vicious courses, but its interference is limited to the point at which "public tranquillity," as the French code has it, is threatened. For instance treating, which is one of the most potent causes of intemperance, cannot be dealt with by the law, as was amply proved in England during the war.

In short, the community can only interfere with the individual when his conduct interferes unpleasantly with the community. The reason is plain. The community itself is on the side of the inoffensive individual through fellow feeling, and in self-protection it frustrates the administration of laws which are out of sympathy with its sense of justice and freedom. The right to interfere with the drunkard is the right to interfere with a public nuisance, but this right does not entitle the law to prohibit or unduly restrict the satisfaction of a natural and legitimate appetite by reasonable and moderate men who do not abuse their rights. Bearing these principles in mind let us examine what has happened in America.[1]

The entrance of the United States into the Great War was the immediate but not the spontaneous occasion of national Prohibition. As far back as 1850 the State of Maine passed a prohibition law. This law really marked the birth of the idea that compulsion under the civil law was the best weapon to stop drunkenness. The idea spread with amazing rapidity, and by 1860 twelve states had followed the example of Maine, among them some, like Rhode Island and New York, which are now bitterly opposed to Prohibition. By 1890 others had joined, making a total of seventeen. This was, however, only a sort of preliminary skirmish. For ten years a hopeless fight was carried on by the National Prohibition party at elections, but fourteen years ago a new and

[1] These are the principles which have been applied by the recent Intoxicating Liquor Commission of which I had the honour to be Chairman.

powerful factor began to make itself felt in the advent of the Anti-Saloon League, the real parent of Prohibition.

This body was from the start skilfully organised, bold to the point of unscrupulousness in its political methods, and endowed with substantial financial backing. As its name indicates, it concentrated its attack, with real intelligence, on the saloon, which was the absolutely indefensible element in the American liquor system and only too often a nest for the lowest elements of the population. It also made an emotional and religious appeal to American Low Church Protestantism, and it is not too much to say that this religious body was more responsible than any other in bringing about Prohibition. In the most astute fashion the League began by attacking the small political units throughout the country in a campaign for local option. The political spirit of the time was in its favour. Radicalism was rampant in American politics and fanaticism was in the air. The Anti-Saloon League made amazing progress. From the county or township it spread to the state, and finally it had enough states in line to force through the famous Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which was ratified by the necessary thirty-six states on January 16, 1919, and became effective one year later. This Amendment runs as follows:

> After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States, and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

It had of course been preceded by war-time prohibition and by a series of prohibition measures since 1900 which affected the army, the navy, and various other government institutions. Liquor had in fact been banned from the United States mails as early as 1908. The progress of the movement was so stealthy and yet so swift in the end that the people were taken by surprise. The

fact was accomplished whilst many were deluding themselves that it could not happen. The peculiar method of passing constitutional amendments favoured the "dry" party. By this method an amendment must be submitted, not to a popular vote, but to the legislature of the various states. This gave the Anti-Saloon League its chance, and pressure was brought to bear on individual legislators, with the result that some legislatures voted in direct defiance of the peoples' wishes. As usual in politics the best organisation won. Maryland was an outstanding example, for there the legislature ratified the amendment although only a few months before the state had gone "wet." Even extreme Prohibitionists admit that, if the question had been submitted to a direct popular vote throughout the United States, the issue would have been more than doubtful. The passing of the Amendment by the state legislatures cannot therefore be taken as a clear indication of the people's will, and under such conditions what has since happened became almost inevitable.

What is the position now after five years of Prohibition enforcement? Opinion is naturally much divided, and a foreigner seeking information finds it difficult to arrive at the truth. Some things are however obvious. There is no difficulty in obtaining intoxicating drink if one wants it and is prepared to pay for it. The "drys" say candidly that they will be satisfied if in thirty years they can show substantial results. They maintain that the generation now growing up will never learn the taste for strong drink. If in the meantime the present drinkers are killed off by denatured alcohol and the other vile concoctions of the bootleggers, that is of little concern to these moralists. Ninety-eight per cent. of the liquor now seized is deleterious in quality, and the results of drinking it are often fatal. But the fact is that drinking is prevalent everywhere and the area of temptation to the younger generation greatly increased. In place of

the 177,000 saloon bars of six years ago there are now at least a million private stills and cellar breweries. Parents not only break the law openly in front of their children but encourage them to treat with contempt the Constitution, that sacred idol of every American school. Respectable young girls can be seen at dances drinking to excess from pocket flasks and presenting their friends with the latest recipe for making gin. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, a Protestant body which supports Prohibition, in its report on the working of Prohibition just issued says :

> The tendency of young people of the present day to depart from conventional rules of behaviour cannot be laid entirely at the door of Prohibition ; but the fact that Prohibition has made no more decisive effect in heightening their moral tone gives food for earnest thought. Crime statistics indicate a rapid increase in violations of the law, chiefly the misdemeanour class ; but it is gratuitous to blame Prohibition, and all that can be asserted is that Prohibition has thus far not prevented an increase in such offences.

In 1919 the Federal Prohibition agents seized 3,487 illicit stills, in 1922 the number seized had risen to 95,933, and in 1924 the alarming total of 159,176 was reached. And the proportion of seizures to total population is higher in the Southern and Western States than in the North Eastern manufacturing regions. Figures showing the total deaths from alcoholism in nineteen cities of more than 300,000 population prove that these have risen from 558 in 1919 to 1,261 in 1923, an increase of more than one hundred per cent. In the year 1922, 42,223 persons were arrested for violating provisions of the National Prohibition Act, in 1924 the number had risen to 68,161. In the same period the number of convictions for similar offences had risen from 22,749 to 37,558.

Taking crime in general the results are equally unsatisfactory. A survey covering three hundred of the largest cities in forty-six states and the District of

Columbia, which has just been concluded by the Research Department of the World League against Alcoholism, shows that the arrests for all causes for the wet period 1913 to 1916 inclusive numbered 1,756,078, or 58·946 per thousand, whilst during the first four years of prohibition, from 1920 to and including 1923, the arrests for all causes numbered 2,040,700, or 58·859 per thousand, the population having increased in these cities from 29,800,000 to 34,600,000. This slight reduction does not support the extravagant claims made for Prohibition as a crime reduction measure. In fact it is clear that Prohibition is directly responsible for much of the present wave of crime in the United States. The game of bootleg and get-rich-quick has naturally attracted the adventurer and the criminal. Where money is easily made life is easily forfeit, and frequently the gangs quarrel amongst themselves over the division of spoils. The reformers, of course, argue that enforcement is naturally difficult along the seaboard and in large industrial towns crowded with foreign born immigrants. They point to the " bootleg trail " from the Canadian border, running down the Hudson Valley to New York City through a chain of large towns. Yet it is obvious to any traveller that drink is as easy to get in the heart of the Middle West as along the Atlantic or Pacific seaboard.

There is no doubt that the United States has to face a special problem on account of its mixed foreign population, which is far from assimilated into the stabilizing traditions of its social system. These people, who poured in by millions during the years preceding the war, came from countries in Southern and Eastern Europe where wine is rightly regarded as a safe drink and water as a source of infectious disease. They cannot be expected to change their habits overnight. Education is doing a great deal. The schools and colleges are overcrowded. All over the country the construction of workmen's houses goes on apace, there is an evergrowing sale of

motorcars which working-men purchase in large numbers on the instalment system, savings banks deposits are being heaped up, and more money is being spent on amusement and recreation. But all this is not the direct result of Prohibition. Much of it is due to the enormous foreign trade balance of $1,000,000,000, a high tariff, and the new immigration restriction laws. These are the real causes of the present general prosperity and the high level of real wages. These things began long before Prohibition became effective, nor was Prohibition able to prevent the great slump of 1920.

The real benefits of Prohibition are to be found in increased industrial efficiency, improved conditions in working class houses, and in the condition of the streets in cities and small towns at night. For these reasons the large employers of labour are naturally solid behind the Anti-Saloon League. But it cannot be contested that the evils more than balance the benefits. The sinister and vile bootleg aristocracy, which has replaced the brewers, have heaped up enormous fortunes through the public demand for their violation of the Constitution. And so profitable and widespread is their organisation that they are likely to be as strong an influence as the Anti-Saloon League in maintaining the *status quo*. Nevertheless, it is erroneous to suppose that it is through importation that the United States receives its present supply of alcohol. On the contrary, 75 per cent. of the bootleg liquor comes from the improper diversion of industrial alcohol from legitimate into illegitimate channels, as was clearly proved at the hearings before the Select Committee of the Senate on the investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. It must be remembered that alcohol is now an industrial necessity. In England, at present, it takes the distillation of 25,000,000 gallons of spirit a year to produce the yeast for the manufacture of bread, and the total yield of industrial alcohol is in the neighbourhood of 8,000,000 gallons.

What happens in America is that the bootleggers start a legitimate business, such as the manufacture of hair tonic, which requires alcohol. Very little hair tonic is made, and the alcohol is diverted into illegitimate channels. Once the alcohol is secured, it can be made into bad whiskey with the addition of water, burnt sugar, and some flavouring matter. A barrel of alcohol makes two barrels of whiskey. Gin can also be made very successfully out of alcohol, water and juniper berries. It can, therefore, be readily understood that all kinds of frauds are perpetrated to procure alcohol, and that once it is procured the rest is easy. The big leak is through the alcohol distilleries, which must be maintained for industrial purposes, and although an elaborate permit system is in force the leakage continues. For instance, in 1921, 434,374 gallons were diverted from one distillery alone, and that one of the largest in America. So profitable is this illegal trade that even large corporations doing a legitimate business in the manufacture of industrial alcohol are prepared to indulge in it, at the peril of their properties and their liberties. It has in fact become necessary to so construct the apparatus that, from the time the fermented mash or beer enters the still and the alcohol vapour arises from the beer through the process of heating, there is no opening through which access may be had to the condensed alcohol that is not covered by Government locks, the keys of which are at all times in possession of a Government official. The United States prohibition officers are faced with the difficulty that it is impossible to draw the line between the use of alcohol for industrial purposes and its possible use for intoxicating purposes. Even where the manufacturers are law-abiding, their employees are carrying on illicit operations. The Prohibition officials have in reality failed to stop the supply at the source, and have devoted too much time to spectacular police work.

But side by side with this supply there is the constant

importation of intoxicating spirits by illicit channels, across the long and ill-protected frontiers. A veritable "Dry Navy" has been established to deal with the famous "Rum Row," which has now been scattered from its original haunts off Long Island. But importation still goes on at more secluded spots on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, where the ubiquitous wireless can give warning when the coast is clear. The land frontier presents similar problems, particularly along the Detroit River, and Mr. Haynes, the Federal Prohibition Director, has even talked of using the Army to close this drink trail. So difficult has the task of enforcement become that the Federal Government now maintains two separate organisations to deal with the matter, one functioning under the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and the other the so-called Prohibition Unit.

But the most serious and far reaching result of Prohibition has been the demoralization in public life and the corruption of the executive. These are patent and undeniable. President Butler, of Columbia University, has put it very clearly and caustically: "Judges, prosecuting officers, and members of legislative bodies, both national and state, talk, act, and vote one way and daily drink another. They have neither the courage to give voice to their true opinions nor the character to conform their private conduct to their public professions." And here is the testimony of Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, who is Assistant Attorney-General for the United States and a protagonist of Prohibition:

> Probably few women have by circumstances been forced to look upon the devastation wrought by lawlessness as I have. If so, with me they would regretfully acknowledge that the indifference of good people is making that devastation possible . . . . Swarms of smugglers slip with noiseless motors or under sail into the inlets and bayous. Their scouts ply backwards and forwards between offices of government agents, offering bribes and tarnishing official honour at every touch. Regiments of political malcontents preach misleading doctrines of personal liberty to excuse violation of the

law. Thousands of bootleggers are robbing honest business to pile up illegitimate fortunes of fabulous size. And under them all are battalions of hirelings, thugs, stick up men, "con" artists, and hijackers, skulking beneath the foundations of society, attacking it from below . . . . Examples might be multiplied indefinitely to illustrate how far reaching and menacing to the forces of law and order the game of bootlegging is, and how it includes all the allied offences against society that ingenious and criminal minds can devise; how it has an added alarming feature, distinguishing it from other lawless pursuits, of quickly amassed and fabulous wealth, to lend it a masquerade of respectability. It is a serious criminal problem. It menaces no less the authority and perpetuity of the Federal Government than it does that of the state and the community. Under its cover flourish arson, bribery, robbery and murder.

President Harding, on another occasion, spoke of "the destructive forces engaged in widespread violation, official corruption and individual demoralization." That these are not idle words can be easily proved. Mr. Pyle, the legal adviser of the Prohibition Enforcement Unit, states: "After I had been in the prohibition service for three months I knew what was wrong and how to cure it. After two years in the prohibition service I am not sure that I know just what is wrong, and I know that I do not know how to cure it." Bribery and corruption are rampant. Mr. Pagan, the special assistant of the United States Attorney-General, thus describes the prohibition officers:—

> The dishonest prohibition enforcement officers—and there is no doubt of their existence in the service and that in greater proportion to the honest ones than has ever been experienced in any service—are a conscienceless, lying, fly-by-night, whiskey drinking, hijacking, bribe-taking, and all round burglarious and piratical class, with no sense of responsibility or pride of office, making no distinction between whiskey and money, satisfied with either, or more properly both, and, outside of this, anxious only to get some whiskey, or to get something "on" somebody so as to invite a bribe, or at least get undeserved credit for being fearless, zealous and efficient.

In their ignorance of the law these agents frequently

make illegal seizures and shoot innocent people. The hi-jacker, so frequently referred to, is a criminal who preys on the bootleggers and robs them of the wares, knowing he is immune from the criminal law because the bootlegger naturally cannot prosecute him. The corruption has spread through the entire executive government of the country, mayors, chiefs of police,[1] judges, state attorneys, sheriffs, and other municipal officers are frequently prosecuted and convicted for breaches of the law, and in many cases have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, although in many states it is virtually impossible to get a verdict of any great consequence in either civil or criminal cases relating to prohibition matters. One of the leading lawyers in Ontario, where Prohibition had been in force for many years, but which now permits 4·4 beer, told me that he was satisfied that the habit of breaking this law had led to a general loosening of public opinion in regard to breaches of all laws. President Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, writes :—

> Student sentiment does not regard the violation of the present prohibition law as any great offence. They apply towards these laws the same principle that they apply to many of the regulations of school, which is that the existence of the regulation is an invitation to a student to violate it. Because of these facts the problem of dealing with drinking and drunkenness amongst students has not in any degree been lessened by the present prohibition laws.

And President Hopkins, of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, states :—

> Unless the prohibition law becomes more effective in fact, and unless the spirit of lawlessness in the country at large becomes subdued and the violation of the law becomes less, neither Dartmouth nor any other college will be able to permanently maintain a condition largely contradictory to the social conditions with which the men are familiar in their home communities.

[1] It has recently been found out that 250 Chicago policemen were on the pay roll of a notorious gang of bootleggers, at salaries ranging from £2 to £25 a month ; and three squads from the Detective Bureau were on the pay roll at £80 to £160 a month each.

The Anti-Saloon League is beginning to realise that the situation is serious, and this year's Convention, now being held at Chicago, is frankly described in their official organ as "The Greatest Crisis Convention."[1] It would be, however, totally inaccurate to contend that Prohibition is finally condemned by American public opinion. There is still a large body of opinion in favour of giving it a fair trial as is evident from the proceedings of the State Legislatures. During the last winter sessions the anti-liquor laws were increased in severity in more than forty states, while in no single state did the opponents of restriction make any headway. Even the smell of liquor in an empty bottle is now a criminal offence in the State of Indiana! But there can be little doubt that educated opinion in America is at last becoming alive to the fact that there are worse evils than drink, and that one of them is the complete demoralization which contempt for an unreasonable, unjustifiable, and tyrannical law brings in its trail.[2] The *Detroit Free Press* has recently put the matter in a nutshell :—

> Reluctantly this newspaper arrives at the conviction that the Eighteenth Amendment was a fearful error, and that the most pressing problem before the United States to-day is how to get rid of prohibition in its present extreme form and substitute for it *moderate but effective liquor legislation which will have behind it public sentiment*, and above all save the youth of the nation from its present peril.

It is clear that the struggle against this unjust law has only begun. I submit that its results, which I have tried to indicate in this article, support the principles of legislation which I laid down at its commencement, and prove that the ideal to be aimed at in dealing with the drink problem is a system of law which will secure

[1] At this Convention the demand has been publicly made that the States of Maryland and New York should be ejected from the Union for persistent violation of the 18th Amendment.

[2] The recent urban elections have shown that city voters all over the nation are rebelling against Prohibition.

good order and remove the abuses connected with the consumption of an article, the use of which may be voluntarily abandoned, or abstained from, but cannot be forcibly suppressed. Our present system does, and with reasonable modifications, will increasingly attain this end. The result of Prohibition in the United States is exactly what everyone conversant with the history of the question expected. If the object was to close the saloons it has succeeded, if it was to stop drinking it has failed, and must continue to fail, just where drinking most needs suppression. In attempting to enforce it the authorities are running their heads against the stone wall of human nature. It is, moreover, abundantly clear, not only from American but from all human and legislative experience,[1] that there are limits to the compulsory suppression of drinking, and that when carried beyond those limits it defeats its own object by tending to promote more injurious forms of excess as well as evasion of the law by common consent. Nor is it possible to counteract these tendencies in a free country for three reasons: namely, the ease with which alcoholic drink can be produced, the lucrativeness of the illicit traffic, and the natural refusal of society in general to regard drinking as a crime, whatever the law may say. In the ultimate resort the only real cure for drunkenness, as for all other moral infirmities, must be found in those moral graces, checks and remedies addressed to the character, the intellect and the will which it is the duty of religion to provide.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

[1] The Russian Soviet Government has had recently to permit the sale of vodka at the previous alcoholic strength of 40 per cent, because all efforts to enforce its prohibition broke down against the opposition of the peasant vendors of home-brewed vodka, a very noxious beverage.

THE COMING IRISH CENSUS

BY C. H. OLDHAM.

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We may regard the Census as an occasion on which the whole community is brought under review, each individual being, as it were, personally interviewed and allocated to his appropriate class.

An examination of the subjects of inquiry, which in Ireland are numerous, will show that every condition of the inhabitants of the country, both social and economic, is dealt with exhaustively, not merely from the standpoint of the scientific statistician whose interest is centred mainly in comparing the existing state of affairs here with that of other countries, but also in such a way as to furnish the data necessary for the promotion of remedial legislation.

The results of the inquiries made in connection with a Census should lead to improvements being effected for the benefit of the population under each of the various headings, such as education, house accommodation, industrial occupations, etc., and it may be laid down as a principle that no inquiry is worthy of being included in a Census Schedule unless it has for its object the eliciting of some facts of wide material interest. . . . . The statistician's inquiries should be so combined as to bring out the social and economic character of the people.

THESE sentences are quoted from the *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, dated December, 1911, which preserves a paper by Sir William J. Thompson, M.D., our Registrar-General, entitled "The Development of the Irish Census and its National Importance." It was read on March 15, 1911, in preparation for the taking of the last Irish Census on the night of Sunday, April 2, 1911. Well illustrated as it was by diagrammatic lantern-slides, this paper is still our best account of the history of the Irish Census; but, of course, it owed much to the historical sketch prefixed by Sir Robert E. Matheson, LL.D. to the General Report of his fine Census of Ireland in 1901.

From a circular letter (September 10, 1925) of the Department of Local Government and Public Health, it was learned that this Department has been authorised by the Executive Council to take a Census of the population of the Irish Free State in April, 1926. Now it is fortunate that the Government of Northern Ireland is also making arrangements to take a Census of their six counties on or about the same date. It ought, therefore, to be possible by the combination of both Censuses to obtain most of the figures for an All-Ireland Census, which would make practicable the comparison of the 1926 figures with the figures of the eight previous Censuses since 1841. The Minister, in the said letter, has invited the co-operation of all persons who may have special qualifications, in determining the information to be collected and the classifications under which it should be published. As the undertaking is of great importance, " the Department was prepared to consider the collection of any statistical information of really outstanding value which can be most appropriately obtained by the Garda Siochana at the residences during an enumeration of the people."

These words indicate that the Department has the ambition to make this first Census of the Irish Free State a success, and everybody will wish it to be well advised and well supported in its task. Both as regards the information to be collected and the classifications under which it should be published innovations are invited; and if the suggested innovations are considered to be at once feasible and desirable, these may be adopted. Thus this Census of 1926 may become a new departure in Irish statistics.

Now, for weighty reasons that will presently be stated, *in this matter of statistics innovations are extremely perilous.* The success of the coming Census will mainly depend on the firmness with which innovations are resisted and are rigorously kept down to the minimum. Every Irish

Census since the very famous one of 1841 has been taken by a Census Commission of three persons appointed *ad hoc*, who even among their own small number, and certainly always among their large office staff, have invariably included individuals who had gained much experience during the compilation of several previous censuses. In that way continuity was carefully preserved; and continuity is of much more importance than accuracy, because statistics have to be comparable before they can mean anything. Now the taking of the new Census by a polygenous Department, in the place of a Commission solely responsible *pro hac vice*, is already an innovation of gigantic proportions. However, the Department can itself commit the performance of its task to a suitably-chosen body of experienced statisticians. Danger is only to be feared if the Ministry should start with an idea that it had a free hand to take this first Census upon what may seem to be ideally-perfect lines, without having strict regard to the imperative principle of continuity. The danger (in that very improbable case) is that the off-spring of its labour should be still-born: in plain words, its statistical output might be worthless and the work would have to be done over again.

I have in mind what happened with the Irish Agricultural Statistics for 1900, when they were taken over from the Office of the Registrar-General and were issued for the first time by the new Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. Dr. W. P. Coyne, thinking that he had a free hand, ventured in his first Report (Cd. 557 of 1901) to alter the previous classification for "arable" and "pasture" lands. He took "Hay mown on permanent pasture" and "temporary grasses" *when grazed*, and these were (as he said) "put in the category of *Grass* (though technically, of course, as being under rotation, the latter is a *crop*)." His idea was to ascertain the employment afforded by tillage, and therefore to more accurately "distinguish land under the plough

from land given over to stock-raising "—and it was an excellent idea. But the result was disastrous, because he did it in a way which destroyed the continuity of the figures. As there was a new report next year, the mistake could be rectified at once; and in his second Report (Cd. 1170 of 1902) we find a table inserted which preserved the continuity of the classification which had existed from 1847 down to 1899. Finally, after Dr. Coyne's lamentably early decease, his successors Mr. Thomas Butler (issuing as *locum tenens* Cd. 2196 of 1904) and Mr. W. G. S. Adams (whose first Report was Cd. 2722 of 1906) restored the classification to its old comparable form. For, as Mr. Adams wrote, we cannot avoid in Ireland "a certain indefiniteness with regard to the terms *arable* and *pasture* land, owing to the intermediate position which is held by hay."

Enough has been said on this small point. I only refer to it here as an illustration of this important principle: that while innovations are sometimes allowable, care must be taken at the time the innovation is made to preserve also the continuity of the statistics in the form comparable with previous years.

In the matter of new subjects for statistical information, my own opinion is that the Irish Population Census is far too elaborated as it is; and that an attempt might be made to drop some of the subjects which have become less important—more especially if better information can now be obtainable by other means. On the other hand, in the matter of the form in which the results of the Census are presented to the public, my own opinion is that great improvements are here possible and, if the Department is really ambitious to make this first Census of the Irish Free State a notable new departure in Irish statistics, it is in this direction, in the elucidation of the Census figures by interpreting their significance to the public, that all its capacity and enthusiasm should be concentrated.

The variety of subjects included for statistical enumeration in the Census of Ireland is far greater than is found in England and Scotland. Thus, we have Religious Professions, Education, and a formidable Land Census (Agricultural Holdings)—to mention only three great departments of the Irish Census—which are not found in Great Britain.

The Religious Professions section of our Census had great political value in former days when the Roman Catholics were suffering from heavy civil disabilities. But to-day all sections of the Irish population stand equal before the law, and the political aspect of statistics of Religious Profession is no longer a factor in Irish life. On the other hand the religious aspect of those statistics is very important; and, in the provision of separate School accommodation for separate Churches, it may be thought to touch on state functions. But for religious purposes such statistics could be much better done by each Church for its own members, possibly with a state subsidy towards defraying the expense. The real test of religion is not outward profession, but the exercise of the spiritual life in prayer. How ridiculous it would be to ask a police enumerator to collect statistics on the subject of Prayers in Irish life, or of Confession, or of any other act of genuine religion such as attendance at Church Service! If there is to be a "religious" census, it ought to be such as would help to the deepening of spiritual life. The statistics collected in the Religious Section of the Irish Census are obsolete for political purposes, useless for the purposes of true religion, and injurious socially as accentuating partisan rancours between separate Christian Sects. A real Census of Religion taken by the Churches themselves, not by the Government enumerators, would be a stern reality: incidentally it would reveal the large numbers of the population who were not in contact with any of the organised Churches, and it would show the great field

for missionary effort which exists within our own home borders. Let us not abolish the Census of Religion; but let us take it out of the Census of Population.

What taking a thing out of the Census of Population means in practice can be better illustrated by the School Census taken with the Irish Census in 1901 or 1911. Not only was information collected as to illiteracy (*i.e.*, can a person "read and write," etc.); but also a Form was issued to Schools and Colleges, to be filled up by the Headmaster. This Education Form did not apply to the Census Night (*e.g.*, April 2nd); it applied to two complete weeks in May. Attendance or non-attendance during each of these weeks is marked by "Yes" or "No." Then the subjects studied by each scholar is indicated; there are separate columns headed Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Modern Languages, Irish, etc. Now it is obvious that this elaborate Education Census might be taken altogether apart from the Population Census; it might be taken *ad hoc* by the Ministry of Education and brought out by its own Inspectors at any time when that Ministry wanted the information. By the Education Department actually taking its own Education Census, and by keeping for its own office use the Forms so filled up, this Census would directly influence the administrative efficiency of that Education Department itself (through which alone reforms in educational policy can come) far more than when it is taken as a part of the Population Census. In any case this Education Census ought to be available for the Schools as an independent publication.

Again, there is that huge section of the Irish Census called the "Land Census"—giving the numbers of Agricultural Holdings under 12 Classes according to the rateable valuation, and under 11 Classes according to size by acreage; for Ireland, for each Province, for each County, for each Poor Law Union; with the actual numbers of Holdings of each Class reduced to the percentage of each county's total area, etc., with their

Resident Population, with their Housing Accommodation, with their Out Offices, and so on—*ad infinitum*. This amazing example of statistics gone crazy fills about 200 pages of the General Report of the Population Census, where it smothers everything else, and turns every reader sick. It is really of great economic value. But nobody wants it beyond a few officials in the Estates Commission or the Land Ministry, and a very few students of Irish Economics. It also ought to be an independent publication ; and it ought to be got out, only at wide intervals, by the Department of Lands and Agriculture, employing on this job the same enumerators who annually collect the Agricultural Statistics. Anyhow it has no right to a place in the Population Census, no more than has a Census of Production for Industry and Agriculture. Its presence in the Population Census is a statistical deformity, which frightens off readers by its indigestible bulk and which adds enormously to the selling price of the publication.

There remains for consideration that complicated section of the Census called " Occupations of the People." In every country this is a most difficult part of the Census to handle in a useful way. The information is most valuable if it can be got. But it is not got, with any approach to precision or accuracy, by any of the methods yet adopted by any country with which I am acquainted. Very similar information might well be collected, by quite a different method, during the compilation of a Census of Production. My opinion is that it ought also to remain still part of the Population Census ; and that the information ought to continue to be collected in the old way and to be classified in a form which rigidly preserves the comparability of the figures with those of previous Censuses. Anyone who has read the remarkable essay by Mr. Charles Booth which was read to the Royal Statistical Society of London on May 18, 1886 (and which was extended to include the Census of 1891, for Ireland

only, in the Appendix to Vol. II. of Evidence given at the Financial Relations Commission, viz.—1895, Cd. 7720, Pt. II., page 217) will understand how instructive these Census figures relating to the Occupations of the People can be made when handled by a master statistician. This information ought to continue to be part of the Irish Census if only to supply some future master in the use of statistics with the materials for bringing Mr. Charles Booth's sombre picture of Ireland's economic decay up to date, when the happier times, that we all hope for as soon to come, will brighten the picture with the glowing colours of Ireland's economic recovery.

Let us now assume that the Population Census of Ireland were to be reduced in bulk by shoving out into independent publications some of the unwieldy sections which now overload it; the space thereby saved might partly be used to great advantage by a much-needed improvement in the manner of presenting the results to the public.

Statistics, although expressed in figures, are something more than mere arithmetical figures: they are measurements of massed facts which relate to man's social conditions. Irish Statistics are hieroglyphics that express chunks of Irish Life to those who can read them. To be able to read their meaning we must use a great deal of knowledge in order to penetrate to the massed facts and to learn what the figures really say about them. The figures are not scientific evidence to any thinking mind unless he knows by what method the measurement of the massed facts was done. We ought to be told that whenever the statistics are published. Having mastered this initial step of reading through the figures to the massed facts that stand behind them, we must then proceed to the next step of interpreting what we have read, so as to perceive the significant meaning of what we are told. Statistics about Ireland are a statement of massed facts which is unintelligible *per se*. Its signific-

ance leaps to light by comparing it with other comparable statistics: we may compare different dates for the same country (as the population of Ireland in 1841 and in 1911); or we may compare the same statistics, at same dates if possible, for different countries (as the live stock per 1,000 acres of "cultivatable land" in Ireland and in Denmark). Now, both comparisons are desirable; for each puts in a fresh significance, makes the figures shine with a different colour of light.

Now it is ridiculous to merely fling down figures, in the traditional British manner, without supplying the public with all the information needed in order to interpret the meaning of the statistics. The public are not expert statisticians, who can lay their hands on the comparable statistics by which alone the significance of the local figures can be made to shine. When great public expense is incurred issuing statistics, there should accompany the Irish figures as much other information as is wanted in order to make the figures intelligible. The Irish Free State has already established an honourable record for its Irish Statistics. When the Trade Statistics for the first completed year, 1924, were published in March, 1925, in a Grey Book (price 2s.), this contained an introductory essay of about twenty printed pages by Mr. John Hooper, Director of Statistics, of which I have stated elsewhere (and here gladly repeat) that it was the best example I had ever known of the scientific interpretation of statistics. Now, just here is where the opportunity lies waiting for the Department of Local Government and Public Health to make a distinguished new departure for the first Census of the Irish Free State. Let it put all its capacity into the task of interpreting the statistics which it publishes.

Let it now be understood why I have insisted already that in this matter of statistics innovations are extremely perilous. It is not to say that innovations are barred out. But when an innovation is deemed desirable, it

ought to be made as an addition, not as a substitute. The old figures of previous Censuses ought to be preserved on the old lines and brought up to date, so as to preserve the continuity that renders comparison with previous years possible. In all summaries for the whole country (I say nothing of Counties or Unions) a full retrospect of the figures from previous Irish records ought to be printed back as far as the records can go. It is not enough to make comparison with the last recorded figure only, say of 1911—though that may be sufficient for smaller territorial units.

However, a work far more needed is to print alongside any Irish figure (for the whole country) the comparable figures (to the nearest date obtainable) for several other European or Dominion countries which are of the type most suitable for comparison with Ireland. Nobody knows Ireland, who only Ireland knows. Our climate is remarkable; our weather is most peculiar; the small use we make of the soil is quite unique; the proportion of the sexes in Ireland is amazingly different from that of all old European populations; the celibacy of our people and the lateness of the few marriages that do take place are without a parallel anywhere; the extraordinary degree of masculinity in our birth-rate is a curious conundrum; our emigration has features unlike the emigration that goes on elsewhere. In all these respects, and in a hundred others, Irish statistics reveal that Ireland is amazingly unlike any other country. But nobody in Ireland is aware how anomalous we Irish are unless he has been at the trouble (and it is a very great trouble) to compare Irish statistics with comparable statistics of other countries. By such comparisons the human mind obtains a norm or standard by which the character of the Irish fact (when reduced to measurement by statistics) can be judged and assigned its peculiar (often very peculiar !) place among the facts of the contemporary world.

The new Census for Ireland (a combination of the two new Censuses for Northern Ireland and for the Irish Free State respectively), if published in a form in which every Irish statistic would be made comparable with the corresponding statistics for several other European Countries, would create a sensation in Ireland of the greatest magnitude. Its educational value also would be enormous. For the first time people in Ireland would discover the real truth about themselves and their country, as this truth is seen by outsiders. We really cannot form any correct opinion about any subject of Irish Economics unless we make a study of Irish life through the difficult language of comparative statistics. Thus, what I would ask the Department to do with this first Census of the Irish Free State, is to make it a primer of comparative statistics, in order to promote a knowledge of Irish Economics. A people that is unable to properly use statistics is not yet capable of self-government. But we may expect this capacity to develop first among the permanent officials who actually carry on the work of government. And from my knowledge of the men I have no doubt that this coming Census for Ireland will be a proof of their high capacity and a noble service for all citizens of this country.

C. H. Oldham.

THE RIGHTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE HOLY LAND

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FOR many centuries the question of the Holy Places—in other words the question of the rights of the Catholic Church to the Holy Places in Palestine—held a prominent place in the Councils of the principal states of Europe. These rights were always in danger, never secure, so long as the corrupt and despotic Mohammedan rulers of Palestine were strong in their hostility to the Christian nations of the West. And when the Turks in the middle of the last century had lost their warlike spirit and were disposed to be reasonable, Russia came forward, as the champion of the Greek schismatics, with exorbitant claims which led eventually to the Crimean war. Now however, as a consequence of the late world war, the obstacles presented by Turkish dominion and Russian ambition have been set aside, and the question of the Holy Places, after more than half a century of oblivion, has come again to the fore. The opportune moment has arrived for a definite settlement, based on the sole principles of justice and equity, a settlement that will put an end to the humiliating contentions of different religious communities, right ancient wrongs, and provide for the suitable upkeep and adornment of the sacred edifices. Hence it is that the fourteenth article of the British Mandate for Palestine, in the permanently revised form which it received at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations held in London on the 24th July, 1922, contains the following declaration :

" A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study and define the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places, and the rights and claims relating to the different religious com-

munities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition, and the functions of the Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council."

Our Holy Father Pope Pius XI, watchful guardian of the rights of the Church of Christ committed to his care, is supremely interested in the findings of this Commission. Hence he has assigned, not only to the members of the Apostleship of Prayer as the special intention for last February but also to all the faithful, as one of the special intentions of this Holy Year of Jubilee, the rights of the Catholic Church in Palestine. Many of these rights have been respected in the past and are not disputed at the present day. But some of them have been usurped either by the Mohammedans or by the Greek schismatics. It must then be the earnest desire of all lovers of justice and the fervent prayer of all Catholics that these rights be restored by the Commission, and that the injustice, from which the Catholic Church in Palestine has had to suffer in the past and still suffers, be not perpetuated but repaired.

Many of the ancient sanctuaries in Palestine are in the undisputed possession of Catholics, and some also are in the equally undisputed possession of other religious bodies. It is only with regard to four, three of which are of the very highest importance, that conflicting claims have arisen. It would be outside the scope of this article, and indeed impossible within the limits of space allowed it, to make any reference to the undisputed sanctuaries. I shall confine myself therefore to a short sketch of the early history of the Holy Places, and to a more detailed account of the acquisition and usurpation of the disputed shrines, with the object of showing as clearly as possible the justice and moderation of the claims of the Catholic Church. I wish here to express my gratitude to Very Rev. Fr. Diotalevi, the Franciscan Procurator General,

for having very kindly placed at my disposition the two valuable volumes of Fr. Paschal Baldi on the question of the Holy Places and the richly documented memorandum on the same subject presented to the League of Nations in Paris in 1922.

The Holy Places in the first period of their history belonged to the domain of the Universal Church. It was Constantine, born in Illyricum (where Greek and Latin meet) and first Christian sovereign of the Roman Empire, who inaugurated the erection of the magnificent churches with which the traditional sites of the mysteries of our redemption were so fittingly adorned. The great basilicas were intended for the use, not of native worshippers only, but of pious pilgrims also from every part of the Catholic world. They were naturally administered by the local clergy in union with and under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. Kings like Charlemagne, bishops like John the Almoner of Alexandria, popes like John VIII, contributed to their upkeep and repair. The Mohammedan domination of Palestine only served to emphasise their international character. The eastern Christians, groaning under the ever increasing weight of oppression and persecution, addressed their piteous supplications again and again to their brethren in the West. The answer to their appeal took the form of monetary contributions, concessions won by negotiation from the Mohammedan Caliphs, and finally the great movement of the Crusades.

The Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, Simeon II, had abandoned his See on the approach of the Crusaders and fled to Cyprus, apparently to escape the reprisals of the infidels. Thence he generously sent supplies of provisions to the Latin invaders, and there he died while awaiting the triumph of their arms. The Crusaders therefore, when they entered the Holy City in 1099, had no difficulty in appointing a Latin Patriarch, Adalbertus of Pisa, to rule the vacant See. They found the sanctuaries in

ruins and erected new basilicas on the ancient sites, which they committed to the care of Latin religious, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine and, in a lesser degree, the Benedictines. As the Latins had formerly officiated according to their own rite in the sanctuaries administered by the native clergy, so now under Latin administration the eastern Christians enjoyed a similar privilege on the understanding that they recognised the supremacy of the Roman Church. The formal submission thus imposed gave little difficulty to the Orientals at this early period. And thus we find Syrians, Armenians, Jacobites and Nubians in the time of the Crusaders conducting divine service side by side with the Latin clergy in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they had special chapels reserved for their use.

The Catholic Church was therefore beyond all doubt in undisputed possession of the Holy Places from the time of Constantine until the expulsion of the Crusaders from Jerusalem in 1187. It is true that during the greater part of this period the sanctuaries were administered by clergy of the Greek rite. But clergy of the Greek rite in union with Rome belonged formerly, as they belong to-day, not to the Greek Orthodox Church but to the Roman Catholic Church. The Orthodox Greek Church of a later day is in no sense the legitimate heir of those Catholic Greeks and Latins, who guarded the Holy Places with united effort and worshipped therein with one mind.

With the expulsion of the Crusaders the history of the sanctuaries enters into a new phase, and the question of the Holy Places really begins. According to Mohammedan law places of worship in conquered territory become the property of the state and are disposed of at the will of the ruler. When Omar conquered Jerusalem in the seventh century, he made no change in the existing conditions, but left the Christians in the free possession of their churches. But when Saladin re-conquered it more than five centuries later, the sanctuaries were taken

possession of by the Mohammedans, who permitted or refused entry to pilgrims and native Christians and regulated at will the privileges and functions of the different religious communities.

The first definite indication of any arrangement about the Holy Places between the Mohammedans and the Christians is furnished by the treaty concluded between Saladin and Richard I of England in 1192. Priests of the Latin rite, namely Canons Regular of St. Augustine, were then expressly entrusted with the worship in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Native priests were also allowed to officiate at these shrines. And thus when the hazards of war temporarily removed the Latin custodians, we find the Church of the Holy Sepulchre either in the charge of Syrian priests, as in 1211, or entirely abandoned, "without lamp, without altar and without worship," as in 1217. The Canons Regular of St. Augustine were again in charge of the Holy Sepulchre, and almost certainly of the sanctuary of the Nativity as well, in virtue of a new treaty from 1229–1244. Then comes nearly a century of obscurity during which there is no indication that either Latin or native priests were in permanent charge of either sanctuary, though Latin priests on pilgrimage were regularly allowed to celebrate Mass at these and other shrines.

The Franciscans settled in Jerusalem in the early part of the thirteenth century. But their official connection with the Holy Places, where they guard the rights of the Catholic Church, only dates from the beginning of the fourteenth. In the years 1335–1337 the sovereigns of Naples and Sicily, Robert and Sancia, at the cost of troublesome negotiations and large sums of money, obtained for them from the Sultan, Melek-en-Naser Mohammed, the absolute ownership of the Cenacle, as well as the authorisation "to dwell permanently in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and there solemnly to

celebrate Holy Mass and other divine services." At an earlier period, 1309–1310, another Sultan, Mozaffer Roknedin or Bibars II, put them in possession of the Church of the Nativity according to the pilgrim Niccolo da Poggibonsi, who adds that the Friars established themselves there at the time of his pilgrimage in 1347. Later on in the same century we find them entrusted with the worship at the Tomb of the Blessed Virgin in the Valley of Josaphat, according to a number of contemporary pilgrims and written documents, though there is no precise indication as to when or from whom they acquired this charge. The rights of the Franciscans to the entire or partial possession of these four sanctuaries—the Cenacle, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Nativity, and the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin—have been violated and are now in question. It is therefore important to determine what these rights were at the beginning.

Their right to the Cenacle, where our Divine Lord instituted the four sacraments of the Blessed Eucharist, Holy Orders, Penance and Confirmation, was complete and exclusive from the very beginning and was secured by legal contracts. The native clergy never claimed a right to celebrate in the little Gothic chapel built by the Franciscans on that holy spot. According to the very earliest documents and attestations of pilgrims they were from the beginning the exclusive possessors of the grotto of the Nativity, which constituted the crypt of the Basilica at Bethlehem, and also of the Basilica itself with a certain reservation. Various eastern rites had each an altar in the upper church, at which they were authorised to celebrate, the Greeks possessing the High Altar. But it was the Franciscans alone who kept the church in repair, dwelt in a monastery beside it, and held the keys of the two doors of the grotto. The Mohammedans themselves, by reason of their devotion to Mary the Mother of Jesus and consequent veneration of her tomb, shared with the

Franciscans the guardianship of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Here too, as at Bethlehem, the different rites officiated at their several altars, the altar of the Latins being the tomb itself in the crypt of the basilica. The Franciscans alone were authorised to repair and actually repaired the church and crypt, and had the exclusive privilege of possessing the key of the church and the undisputed right of entry.

With regard to the Holy Sepulchre, the Latin friars, if we except their special privilege of dwelling in the basilica, seem to have been at the very beginning, as far as one can judge from the documents, more on a par with the other Christian communities. They possessed, like the Armenians, Jacobites, Æthiopians, Georgians, Syrians and Nestorians, one chapel, that of the Apparition of Our Lord to His Blessed Mother, for their exclusive use, could celebrate Mass at the common sanctuaries of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, and make solemn processions with the western Christians to all the holy places. But they gradually improved their position and soon obtained from the Mohammedan rulers, by negotiations and money payments, a number of sanctuaries of the highest importance that were hitherto common and unappropriated. The principal of these new possessions were the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, the southern half of the Rock of Calvary, the Stone of the Anointing, the grotto of the finding of the Holy Cross, the tombs of the crusading kings of Jerusalem and the northern nave of the basilica. Space forbids us to indicate here either the precise circumstances under which these new rights were acquired or the numerous official documents and testimonies of pilgrims on which they still repose. The celebrated Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, might well say of the position of the Franciscans in the Holy Sepulchre in the beginning of the seventeenth century: "They are the principal masters of all."

The first sanctuary to be lost was the Cenacle, unjustly appropriated by the Mohammedans and converted into

a mosque in 1524. The motive of the usurpation was the false legend, which originated in the eleventh century and was industriously circulated by the Jews among the Mohammedans at a later date, that the sanctuary contained the tomb of the prophet David. Everybody now knows that the legend is apocryphal. David was not buried in a marble tomb or on the south-western hill. Even the Mohammedan writers of the period doubted its truth. And so the usurpation was justified by the plea that the Cenacle was a mosque of ancient date and could not therefore, according to Mohammedan law, be devoted to other uses. The chapel had indeed been converted into a mosque for a very brief period during a previous usurpation in 1458 by the simple erection of a niche for prayer. But this usurpation was admitted by the Mohammedans to have been unjust, a violation of the rights of property legally acquired by the Franciscans. A contract duly made and duly executed and followed by nearly two centuries of peaceful possession is not rescinded by an act of violent usurpation on the part of one of the contractors. And against the appeal to Mohammedan law may be cited four instances in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood of Christian Churches which have been converted into mosques and afterwards restored to their ancient owners and uses by the Mohammedans themselves. There is therefore not the shadow of a doubt as to the present right of the Franciscans to the exclusive possession of the Cenacle.

It was in the year 1633, after nearly three centuries of peaceful enjoyment, that some of the possessions of the friars were first usurped by the Greek schismatics. These had long distinguished themselves from the other eastern rites by a pronounced hostility towards the Latins, and by using their greater numbers and resources and the influence they exerted through Greek officials at the Turkish court to improve considerably their original position in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They now succeeded, on the strength of a forged document,

supposed to have been issued in their favour by the Caliph Omar in the seventh century, in wresting from the Friars their possessions on Calvary, the Stone of the Anointment and the Grotto of the Nativity. But two years later the Archdeacon Gregory, now at variance with the Orthodox Patriarch, confessed that he had forged the "Covenant of Omar," and thus enabled the European ambassadors to obtain from the Sultan the recall of the unjust firman enacted to the detriment of the Latins. Two years later again however the recalled firman was re-enacted in 1637, when the Greeks succeeded by means of large money presents in getting the venal Turks to authorise their usurpations.

The efforts made by the European ambassadors at the Turkish Court to get the Franciscans reinstated in their rightful possession were unavailing. And the wars waged soon afterwards between the Crescent and the Cross enabled the Greeks to advance their cause by representing the Franciscans as foreign enemies and themselves as loyal subjects. They thus obtained in 1675, in addition to their previous usurpations, the exclusive possession of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, in return for an annual contribution of a thousand piastres for the benefit of a Mohammedan mosque. But the Turks, hard pressed by Venetians, Austrians and Poles, and beaten in war by sea and land, soon found themselves in the necessity of re-affirming their ancient friendship with France. The Sultan therefore, at the demand of the French Ambassador in 1690, again ordered a rigorous inquiry to be made into the disputes of the Greeks and Latins with regard to the Holy Places. The claims of the Greeks, reposing entirely on the "Covenant of Omar," which was again recognised to be a recent fabrication, were now a second time declared to be null and void. The Latins on the contrary, whose claims were established by ancient and authentic documents and unimpeachable testimonies, were publicly re-instated in the sanctuaries of which they had been unjustly deprived.

The Franciscans, who had previously rebuilt the little chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in accordance with the design of the Crusaders in 1555, now had to undertake a similar restoration of the outer cupola which was in danger of collapse. Owing to the efforts made by the Greeks to impede the work as long as they themselves had no share in it, it was only in 1719 that the Friars received the necessary firman from the Sublime Porte and worthily restored the tottering parts of the basilica at the exclusive expense of the Custody of the Holy Land. This firman, which again emphatically recognised the exclusive right of the Franciscans to the possession of the central part of the basilica, was granted in exchange for the liberation of 150 Turkish prisoners of war. The rights of the Catholic Church in Palestine were now included in all the treaties made between Turkey and the various European Powers—*v.g.*, those of Carlovitz in 1699, Passarovitz in 1718, Belgrade in 1739, and the solemn agreement made between France and the Sublime Porte in 1740. On the 22nd January, 1757, the Sultan Osman III, issued a new firman confirming the Franciscans in their possessions in the Holy Sepulchre, which are explicitly and exactly enumerated, and severely rebuking the Greeks for molesting them. The principal offenders among the Greeks—Sophronios, Ananias, and the sacristan—were to be punished, and those who refused to obey were to be denounced to Constantinople.

A few months later in the same year the magnificent altar in front of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Friars had superbly decorated for the Easter celebrations, was openly demolished and despoiled by the Greeks. The aggressors were denounced. But, instead of punishment, they were handed over, by imperial decree, the Latin possessions of the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the tomb of the Blessed Virgin in the Valley of Josaphat, the northern nave of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and were made co-proprietors with the Latins of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre and the Stone of the Anoint-

ment. Such is Turkish justice, and such is the origin of the *status quo* in the question of the Holy Places, which has remained substantially unchanged to the present day.

The Greeks, now in control of the Holy Places, were eager to obliterate every accusing evidence of former Latin ownership. In this they were materially aided by a fire which broke out in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1808. Having obtained leave to restore the basilica, they first destroyed the beautiful chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been largely spared by the flames, shattered the tombs of the crusading kings of Jerusalem, and effaced or covered with whitewash the Latin inscriptions and mosaics. In their work of reconstruction, by substituting for the graceful little chapel a great marble kiosk and by encumbering much of the surrounding space with inartistic and undevotional edifices, they deprived the shrine of its ancient majesty. The upper cupola was so clumsily erected that it had to be replaced by a new one, built at the joint expense of France, Russia and Turkey in 1862. The Franciscans were powerless to prevent the artistic desecration of the Church of the Crusaders and had to content themselves with a firman, obtained from the Sultan Mahmud II by France and Austria in 1811, which declared that the work performed by the Greeks on the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in no wise derogated from the prior rights of the Latins and ordered that the Holy Sepulchre be restored to them. Some years later, however, not only the Greeks but also the Armenians were made co-proprietors of the shrine.

The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem had been injured by an earthquake in 1831, and the Greeks got permission in 1842 to renew its roof and floor. Here too they made use of the opportunity to cover with a coat of whitewash the Latin Mosaics and inscriptions on the walls. They built moreover a wall in front of the choir and high altar, separating them from the main part of

the Constantinian church, which was now entirely abandoned and devoted to profane uses. There still remained as an evidence of Latin ownership the silver star placed by the Franciscans above the altar of the Nativity in the grotto, with its Latin inscription: *Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est.* They removed this star on the 12th October, 1847, and hid it in the Convent of St. Saba, but by so doing reawakened Europe to the question of the Holy Places and made France demand from the Sublime Porte in 1850, in the name of the whole Catholic world, the restitution to the Franciscans of the sanctuaries usurped by the Greeks in and after the year 1757.

The subsequent inquiry into the question of the Holy Places resulted in the revindication of the claims of the Latins. But before any decision could be promulgated, Russia intervened with a peremptory demand in the form of an ultimatum for the maintenance of the *status quo.* This demand was acceded to. It was the further demand that the Sublime Porte should irrevocably sanction the rights, privileges and immunities of the churches, pious institutions and clergy of the Orthodox Greeks subject to its dominion, which produced the Crimean war. The provisional arrangement thus established has not since been modified. The question of the Holy Places was deliberately avoided both in the peace treaty which followed the Crimean war and in the treaty of Berlin in 1878. But the *status quo* has been repeatedly violated by the Greeks, in particular by setting fire to the grotto of the Nativity in 1869 in order to destroy the drapery, emblems and Latin inscriptions on the walls, by making an armed attack on the Franciscans in Bethlehem, wounding eight of them and sacking their altar in the grotto in 1873, and by another murderous attack made on the Franciscans in the Holy Sepulchre in which eighteen of them were wounded in 1901. Hence we can understand why the Greeks refused to admit the proposal of the Latins, approved by Turkey, for the codification

of the *status quo* in 1902. "A well-defined position cannot be the wish of him who likes to fish in troubled waters."

The task before the future Commission is to substitute for the provisional *status quo* in the Holy Places a permanent *status iuris*. This *status iuris* cannot be a return to the conditions which prevailed before the Mohammedan conquest. The bond which once united eastern and western Christians in their worship at the Holy Places has been severed by schism. The Mohammedan Sultans in Palestine, like the rulers of many Christian states, have claimed and exercised the privilege of disposing of the dominions they had won by conquest. The Greek claims to the disputed sanctuaries rest on the concession made to them by the Turks in 1757, since previous grants were more than once declared to be founded on false pretences, the spurious Covenant of Omar, and were judicially revoked. Against this firman of 1757 stands a vast number of earlier firmans and official documents, including a firman issued only a few months previously, which demonstrate the prior rights of the Franciscans. The Greeks moreover have shown themselves incompetent as administrators during the period of the *status quo* by a total disregard for artistic tradition in the restoration of the edifices, by the irreverent abandonment of the greater part of the basilica of the Nativity to the profanest uses, and by violence, incendiarism and bloodshed.

The Franciscans on the other hand cannot be accused of injustice or irreverence or vandalism. They have no desire to oust other religious bodies from the altars and privileges which they legitimately possess in the three basilicas. After having toiled and suffered and shed their blood for six centuries in defence of the Holy Places, they now only ask the restoration of those rights of which they were unjustly deprived in 1524 and 1757. And not justice alone but the future welfare of the Holy Places themselves pleads for the recognition of their claims.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL SERVICE IN VIENNA

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A FEW years ago I was very much interested by an article of Mrs. Concannon's in the *Irish Monthly*, dealing with certain Catholic social activities in Vienna, and in 1924 when I had leisure and was not in the mood for an ordinary holiday, I went to Vienna to learn more about these activities and to come into contact with those who were directing them. Unfortunately the time of my stay coincided with the period immediately following the attempted assassination of the then Bundeskanzler Dr. Seipel, and it was impossible for me, because of his dangerous illness, to see him, who was one of the directors and inspirers of that great movement of which I am writing. But I came into daily contact during three weeks with the devoted band of women who constitute the human machinery of this great work, and I was in frequent communication with the Directress, whose guest I was—one of the most remarkable women of our time on the Continent—Dr. Hildegarde Burjan, not a Viennese by birth, but a Reichsdeutsche, a Doctor of Philosophy and wife of a prominent manufacturer of Vienna. Dr. Burjan and Ex-Chancellor Seipel are the moving spirits of this great organisation, and they enjoy the special protection and patronage of His Eminence Cardinal Piffl, from whom, introduced by Dr. Burjan, I got some conception of the difficulty of the work in which they are engaged and of the success which has already attended their efforts.

The organisation, which describes itself as a " religious association of women social workers " (*religiöse Gemeinschaft sozial tätiger Frauen*) and is called " Caritas Socialis,

was founded in 1918, that year of awful memory for the stricken peoples of Central Europe and particularly for Austria. We have abundant proof from the writings of Austrians like Hermann Bahr (whose testimony, given before his re-entry into the Church, is particularly valuable) that, even before the war, all was not well with Austria, that religion was at a low ebb—had become mere formalism—that the religious spirit was dead or almost dead, atrophied by the century-old traditions of Josephinism and Liberalism, and that there was a vital need for a reawakening, re-vivifying and intensifying of the inner life. If such was the condition of things before the great world upheaval, how much worse in 1918. That social and spiritual as well as political world problems have been enormously aggravated by the four and a half years of domestic, industrial and political chaos is a commonplace of our present knowledge—and the fact that this aggravation was particularly felt in Vienna was the direct cause of the starting of this Caritas organisation.

Vienna's material needs had been to some extent relieved by the many foreign societies—American, British and Dutch—which saved or made easier of endurance lives broken by the war. But devoted Catholic women workers knew only too well that no foreign aid could grapple with the moral chaos, the coarsening of spiritual fibre, the spiritual destruction which were incontestably the worst effects of the great struggle, and which spelt special deterioration and degradation for women. Such evils could be dealt with only from within. Civilisation had failed; progress was really retrograde; the only salvation lay in the Church, under whose guidance and in whose spirit institutions could be now, as in the dark days of the past, evolved, the character of which would be suitable to the needs of the time and capable of coping, spiritually and materially, with the agony of suffering and erring humanity.

It was a natural result of Dr. Seipel's and Frau Burjan's deep experience of human life and its problems that the Association called into being by them should conceive its first object to be the intensification of the religious spirit, referring all things to Christ and doing all things through Him, so that external activities should not dry up the sources of the interior life. This remarkable man and woman had, no doubt, in their long years of labour amongst the workers (she was the first woman deputy elected after the crash, and he was Minister for Social Affairs) seen the futility of social work based on material considerations, and had become aware of the extent to which one may become involved in the social machine to the detriment of one's spiritual self and of the spiritual selves of those whom one is out to help. That awareness gives the key-note of the new organisation. It is out to lay hold of women social workers—to bring them together, fill them with the spirit of the Gospel, and at the same time train them in works of social service and charity, thus bringing to Christian social activities personalities developed to the full extent of their powers.

The Caritas Association as it exists to-day, seven years from its foundation, embraces three types of workers: (1) the intern sisters; (2) the extern sisters; (3) ordinary members. The intern sisters include young girls or widows who, convinced that they have been called to this special work, give their services wholly to the organisation. The organisation is based upon the same principle which has always led women into religious orders, namely, self-renunciation and complete devotion to God, with the special vocation of the Caritas sister to express this devotion through work for suffering humanity—through social work. The Caritas Socialis, however, is not a religious order, not a monastic body. This fact is particularly stressed in the leaflets issued at different times by the organisation. In their own words, the idea of the founders is to supply the Church, in these

days of bitter conflict, with a body of women who are, by their training and character, peculiarly fitted for missionary work *in* the modern heathen world of the great city. Once the Caritas sister has had her spiritual training, extending over two years in the Novitiate, the rules for a common life of prayer and work are kept as elastic as possible, in order that external observances may not offer an obstacle to active missionary service in the world, and that the Caritas sister may gain access to spheres of work into which a nun could never enter. In accordance with this idea, the intern sisters do not wear a religious habit; they wear a uniform roughly resembling that of a nurse, so that their appearance is unobtrusive and passes in any quarter without comment.

In the novitiate the Caritas sister receives not only spiritual but also professional or vocational training, such as sick-nursing, housecraft and handicrafts of various kinds, whilst the various institutions which have, in the last seven years, sprung up under the hands of this young and vigorous association, offer the novice abundant opportunity for the discovery, the exercise and the development of her peculiar talents. After two years the novice is formally received into the Association as a sister, this reception being in the nature of a religious ceremony. She gets no salary for her work as sister, but her expenses are defrayed; she is provided with all the necessaries, and arrangements are made for a rest and change every year. She is free at any time, on giving six months notice, to leave the Association; if she remains a faithful member of the Community for six years, the organisation binds itself to provide for her in sickness and in old age.

The second type of worker in this noble army is the Extern Sister. She places herself entirely at the disposal of the organisation, but does not, for family or other urgent reasons, live within the community. Her training for social work varies according to her professional or

private circumstances. After a fixed period of probation she is received into the Association and undertakes to follow its rules. The principles guiding and animating her are the same as those guiding and animating the Intern Sisters, whose religious exercises she shares as far as possible and in close daily contact with whom she lives.

The third type of worker is the ordinary member. a woman who is attracted by the work but is prevented by circumstances from devoting herself wholly to the organisation. She can be enrolled as an ordinary member, For the first year she is a " candidate " member, appears regularly at the monthly meetings of the organisation, and is assigned to the special care of an older Caritas sister who initiates her into the work. At the end of a year she is, after the consent of the Directors (Dr. Burjan and Dr. Seipel) has been obtained, admitted a full member. She binds herself to do the work in the spirit of the Caritas and to fulfil conscientiously its religious prescripts (Daily Communion and prayers of the association, monthly day of recollection, yearly retreat). Welfare supervisors and workers in the different Catholic organisations, teachers who are enthusiastic social workers, public women of all kinds are " ordinary members " of the Caritas and draw (from this common source) strength and stimulus for their various activities, professional, social and charitable.

To any critic who imagines that a religious feeling so ardent and so intense as that which animates these Caritas sisters precludes far-reaching and efficiently organised external activities, it is a sufficient answer to point to the actual work done by this little band of women in Vienna from their foundation in 1918 to the present year. I shall mention only those works of charity and social service with which I myself came into direct personal contact. They may be divided into three classes : 1. Preventive and Curative Welfare Work ; 2. Girls' Protection ; 3. Family Aid.

Welfare Work.—This work is carried on in various institutions—some officially owned, some founded and owned by the Caritas itself. One of these institutions is the Welfare Centre for the young under police control. This has been in the hands of the Caritas since 1923. Youths up to the age of 18 who have been either abandoned or neglected by their parents, youthful criminals released from prison, are taken by the police to this centre and are kept there until permanent provision is made for them. Various trades are taught. The boys learn book-binding, wood-cutting, raffia work, etc.; the girls sewing, house-work, etc., whilst both together are taught gardening, for the centre boasts of a spacious garden. But above and before all they learn the meaning and the use of religion, a religion of love and mercy, at the hands of the five young sisters who are at the same time mother and friend and guide to this flotsam and jetsam of young humanity.

Under this head of curative welfare comes also the hospital for sexually diseased girls at Klosterneuburg, a suburb of Vienna. This hospital is a public institution. Caritas sisters have been in charge of the juvenile section (girls of 13 to 18) since the year 1922. What is unique in this institution is that, under the control of the sisters, the unfortunate girls who are there for treatment are suitably employed and remunerated, so that their balance physical and spiritual is, as it were, restored; they are given the inestimable blessing of work, and their self-respect is restored by their being rendered self-supporting. The range of activities is wide and varied; all tastes are catered for. Bookbinding, shoe-making, basket-weaving, gardening, lingerie work—often of a most exquisitely delicate character—are represented on the programme. Time and wages sheets are kept, and the money is paid over to the girl when she is discharged from the hospital. Not one leaves the institution without having had arrangements made for her future.

In this connection the Sisters have a home in Vienna where girls discharged from Klosterneuburg and for whom places have been found may find not only board and lodging, but strength and support, until the first dangers of independence are overcome. For those for whom situations cannot be found or who are not thought fit to adventure out into the dangerous life of the great city, the Caritas has a school for gardening and farming at Esslingen. Such an establishment had already been founded (within the city boundaries) by Dr. Burjan herself before the founding of the Caritas. But as this first foundation offered too little scope and too few possibilities for the open air employment of the girls, it was replaced in 1924 by the new foundation at Esslingen outside the city, in which the Sisters have, in a large farm, a much more extensive field for their labours. The institution is under government patronage; indeed the acquisition of the property and the opening of the institution were made possible only by the loyal co-operation of the lay and clerical forces. In this curative, preventive and educational welfare centre there is no element of compulsion—the girls bind themselves voluntarily to stay there for two years. Only those free from disease and under 18 are admitted to the school. It is impossible to stress too much the social significance of this great work, which, discharged in a spirit of loving sacrifice, brings these unfortunate girls out of a condition of utter abandonment and misery to the blessings of an ordered Christian existence. I spent a day at Esslingen, and I can personally vouch for the order and the beauty and the homely kindness of the life that is being led there.

A third type of this curative and preventive welfare work is the home for unmarried mothers and their infants which is now housed in the building in Hütteldorf left free by the purchase of the Esslingen property. This home was started with the definite purpose of preventing, in some small measure, criminal abortion and infanticide.

Very great importance is attached to the fact that the child is not after a week or ten days removed from its natural guardian, and that the mother finds the greatest safeguard against future temptation in the care and love of her child. Nine months is the maximum duration of stay in the home, and before mother and child leave, the institution sees to it that her future is safe.

In all this curative and preventive work the welfare supervision of the Caritas extends beyond the institutions discussed. The Caritas has a small army of auxiliaries who act as voluntary welfare supervisors of all girls who have been under the care of the Caritas, and are now abroad in the world. Some of these voluntary workers take over whole groups of protegés, and on their free days there are re-unions for excursions, games, music and visits to good theatres. In this way the Association never loses its hold of its young friends.

Girls' Protection Work.—This the Caritas looks upon as one of its most important social activities ; for statistics, especially the statistics of a great trading and industrial city like Vienna, go to show that a girl's fall is very often due to homelessness or evil housing conditions. Since the year 1919 there is in the centre of the city of Vienna, in the 9th district, a hostel for working girls capable of accommodating 180 and run by the Caritas Sisters. The charges are the minimum, the food is good and wholesome, and the rooms or cubicles comfortable. The hostel has a hall capable of being used for theatrical performances, etc., and the girls are at liberty to invite their friends, including men. They are also at liberty to frequent theatres, etc.,—a proceeding which is not inconsistent with early hours, for the Viennese theatres very sensibly begin their performances at 6 or 6.30, and most of the legitimate theatres are over by 9.30. It speaks well for the comfort and the happiness of this home that there is never a vacant room, and that its little chapel is the scene of many a marriage and many a baptism ; for the girls never lose touch with the place.

To cope with the problem of the homeless and shelterless girls, the Caritas opened in 1924 a shelter in connection with the police office and under police protection. This shelter is capable of accommodating 35, and is in the nature of a real preventive welfare centre. Homeless girls are at liberty to remain there for a maximum period of one week, being provided with board and lodging free. To one Sister is especially entrusted the work of finding permanent safe quarters and suitable work for this floating population, which in the year 1924–1925 amounted to 2,089 persons.

Another side of protective welfare work dealt with by the Caritas is the Station Mission. This work had been begun in Vienna in the year 1904 by Countess Louise Fünfkirchen, but had came to grief after her death, largely owing to the fact that war and post-war conditions had rendered it impossible to provide paid station workers. In 1922 the work was taken up by the Caritas organisation, and now 150 *voluntary* station workers, many of them busy wives and mothers, take their turn at the five principal stations in Vienna to meet all principal trains and direct unprotected girls to a safe lodging. This station work is well known and enjoys the special protection of the station officials, who are fully aware of its important social character. The Station Mission kiosks are in a prominent place in all the station vestibules. The Station Mission has at its disposal for friendless and penniless girls 15 beds, distributed in different quarters of the city convenient to the different stations.

In 1922 also the Caritas Socialis started an Austrian Committee for girls' protection and preventive welfare work, which is in constant touch with similar associations in other countries, so that the friendless girl who has to travel abroad may, by the far-flung activities of this Committee, find help and protection wherever she goes.

The Caritas has also under the head of Girls' Protection

started a school for the training of crippled girls as dressmakers and lingerie makers, this school being in connection with the orthopaedic hospital of Professor Dr. Spitzy. It is also endeavouring to find home work for the unemployed girl, who otherwise, deprived of the very necessaries of existence and hopeless of obtaining work, would join the ranks of the fallen. In short, there is nothing left undone to prevent the unprotected girl from falling a prey to the evils which lie in wait for her in the modern big city.

Family Aid.—The third class of social and charitable activities to which the Caritas devotes itself is what it calls *Familienpflege*, and what we should have to describe in a round-about way as visiting the homes of the poor and looking after their temporal and spiritual welfare. The directors of the Caritas movement were quick to recognise the importance of the home, of ordered and comfortable family life, for the spiritual and temporal well-being of society, quick also to see that war and post-war conditions were hastening that decay of family life which had already been threatened in many ways and from many directions long before the war. In March of this year five Caritas sisters were assigned to this work of *Familienpflege*. They are not sick nurses; they are active and skilful and sympathetic helpers in any emergency, able to replace the mother when sickness comes or to help her when any help is needed. It is the task of the *Familienpflegerin* to keep the family together in hours of need, to inquire into their circumstances when distress is evident, to examine into the causes of that distress, and to try and devise remedies wherever a remedy is possible. These five trained sisters are reinforced by a band of voluntary workers who are available for occasional service during a few hours in the day. Already the Caritas has found 100 ladies to take over the financing of this work and to give other active help in case of emergency.

All these activities of the Caritas are under the *economic* control of a society calling itself "Soziale Hilfe" or Social Aid. This society was called into being by the Caritas at the moment when the overwhelming growth of its institutions looked as if it might interfere with the peculiar work of the Caritas, the professional and religious training of women for active social service. Frau Doctor Burjan impressed on me over and over again that what Dr. Seipel and she attached most importance to was this raising of an army of religiously inspired social workers. She had no doubt that once this devoted army was there, properly equipped and properly trained, the placing of them in institutions or the growth of institutions round about them would come of itself and was only of secondary importance. It was Dr. Seipel's idea and hers that the actual Caritas organisation should be free from business and economic worries, and that there should be, as it were, a Business Executive (*Soziale Hilfe*) to run all the different establishments, deal with economic problems, and generally carry on what might be called the management. Dr. Seipel and Dr. Burjan are the heads of the Soziale Hilfe also. The Secretariat is situated in the ground floor of the Working Girls' Hostel, and six women are engaged there in constant work; for this is the hub of the great machine. Each worker has her allotted task, office-control, economic administration, social research (the study of social, political and moral problems, the study and compiling of statistics, etc., which is in the hands of an extern sister, a very capable and charming Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Vienna, Dr. Margarete Ansion), magazine editing, for they run a little monthly called *Soziale Hilfe—Monatschrift für Mädchenschutz und Gefährdetenfürsorge*, which is stimulating and educative, with articles contributed by experts in various branches of social service.

Such are, briefly described, the manifold activities of this wonderful association, the success of which in the

short space of seven years is nothing short of miraculous, and the intense religious fervour and organised efficiency of which it is very difficult adequately to convey. What is abundantly clear from a study of the whole movement is that the driving force and motive power is religion. "Caritas Christi urget nos" is the motto imprinted not only on their leaflets but working in their hearts, and that is the source of their early-Christian-like strength in the midst of a pagan world.

I recently read an interesting little essay by Hermann Bahr, written in 1912, before the break-up of the old order, on the now antiquated theme of "Women's Rights." The last paragraph in that essay seemed to me to fit in with my idea of this great organisation of women workers. He says :—

> It has always been urged against women that it is notorious that they understand nothing about politics. But no better defence could be made for women than that they understand nothing of what to-day passes for politics. Moreover, what does it matter now-a-days ? The old world is passing away, a new world is being born. The principle of that old world is brute force. It is based upon the assumption that the strong man enslaves the weak and makes him work for him. The principle of the new world is mutual help, caritas, love. It is based upon the belief that the strong shall help the weak, that each one shall work according to his strength and each one receive according to his need. We are still far removed from that world. But we are marching towards it, slowly, very slowly. And in a happier future each of the nations of the earth will one day, perhaps, count only in the measure in which it shall have contributed to accelerate this march of humanity towards the goal of brotherly love. Who are more likely than women to have the key-word to such a development ? Who more than they have suffered under the tyranny of brute force ? Who could have a purer genius for mutual help, for caritas, for love ?

Let us hope and pray that the Caritas Sisters of Vienna are but the vanguard of that great march towards the reign of love of humanity in Christ.

MARY M. MACKEN.

IRELAND AND PAVIA: 825–1925

BY T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

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THE academic celebration of the eleventh centenary year of the University of Pavia, in Lombardy, held in the early summer of 1925, was attended, on behalf of the National University of Ireland, by its Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Patrick J. Merriman, M.A., President, University College, Cork. While at Pavia, he mentioned the desire of the Senate of his own University that they should be allowed to erect, in one of the courts of the University of Pavia, a memorial tablet in honour of the Rev. John Lanigan, D.D., Ecclesiastical Historian of Celtic Ireland, who had been Professor at Pavia from 1789 to 1796, and who had taken his Doctor's Degree at Pavia in the year preceding the French invasion of Northern Italy under Napoleon Bonaparte, an event which led to a prolonged interruption in the work of that time-honoured institution. The Rector and Academic Council expressed a cordial willingness to accept the proposal so made from Ireland, and conveyed this decision in their official letter of June 20, 1925.

The original intention of the National University was that there should be a double inscription, in Irish and in Latin; but the tradition of Pavia, limiting to Latin and Italian the text of the many hundreds of such inscriptions erected during more than four centuries around all the quadrangles of all the faculties, caused a regretful limitation of the proposed texts to that prepared in Latin by the Rev. John D'Alton, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, at the instance of the Senate, conveyed through the Rt. Rev. Mgr. MacCaffrey, Ph.D., President of the National Ecclesiastical College. This

Latin inscription runs as follows; to it may be fittingly subjoined the Irish text composed by Professor Douglas Hyde, D.Litt., LL.D.

REVERENDO JOHANNI LANIGAN, S.T.D.

MDCCXIC—MDCCIVC.

Dum omnium nationum legati Ticinum conveniunt ad praestantem gloriam Universitatis Regalis undecim per Saecula conditae recolendam, Senatus Universitatis Nationalis Hiberniae occasione capta hanc tabellam collocandam curavit ad memoriam conservandam Reverendi Doctoris Johannis Lanigan, qui Cassilii in Hibernia anno MDCCLVIII natus, Romae ad sacerdotium provectus, munus doctoris Sacrae Scripturae et linguae Hebraicae per septem annos in hac Universitate maxima cum laude implevit. Postquam in patriam regressus, plurimis et reconditis litteris eruditus, Annales Ecclesiasticos Hiberniae, opus celeberrimum confecerat, famam eximiam adeptus et Bibliothecae Societatis Regalis Dublinii curandae praefectus, pietate in Deum conspicuus anno MDCCCXXVIII e vita migravit.

R. I. P.

Tá Seanad Ollscoile Náisiúnta na hÉireann ag breit ar an ocáid seo (nuair atá mórán teachtairí as gach cine cruinnithe le céile ag Padua, cum sean-ghlóire na h-Ollscoile Rioghamla sin, do dhunuigeadh aon chéad déag de bliadhantaibh ó shoin, do chur i bhfad), cum an táibléad so do chur suas mar chuimneachán ar an Doctúir oirdhireach Seán O Lonagáin do rugadh i gCaiseal na Rioghnan mbliadhain 1758, do thógadh cum na Sagartacta insan Róimh, agus do shuidh le clú mór, i gcathaoir na h-Ollamhnachta san Sgriptúir Naomhta agus san Eabhrais ar feadh seacht mbliadhan (1789-1796). Dá mhór agus dá foirleathan a foghluim, agus ar bhfilleadh dhó go tí a thír dhúthchais chuidh a cháil i bhfad de bharr sár-oibre do sgríobh sé, .i. Stair Eaglaiseamhail na hÉireann. Do rinneadh leabharlannuidhe de, na dhiaidh sin, do Chumann Rioghamhail Baile-atha-cliath: do fuair sé bás, agus cáil mhór chráibhteachta air, insan mbliadhain 1828.

R. I. P.

Every student of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* is well aware of the sterling merits of Lanigan's four volumes, closing at the date of the Norman intrusions

into Ireland, and published in Dublin in the year 1822. His father, Thomas Lanigan, was a Catholic schoolmaster, who managed to teach in Cashel City even in the worst period of the Penal times; and at Cashel he educated all his own family. John was the sixteenth and youngest child of a long family, which always remained devotedly attached among themselves. The curious situations caused by the Penal Code are illustrated by the fact that for some time he acted as Catholic undermaster in a classical school kept at Cashel by Patrick Hare, a pervert from the Catholic Church, who entered Trinity College, Dublin, and at the close of the eighteenth century became Vicar-General to Lord Normanton, then Anglican Archbishop of Cashel. In that capacity Hare, who anglicised his name when he left Corofin, Co. Clare, issued in 1799 a license, still to be read in Thurles, authorising Anastasia Tobin, a Popish schoolmistress, to keep a school in that town, "during the pleasure only" of Lord Normanton, "and not otherwise." Before his promotion, Hare found it advantageous to have Catholic pupils, and in order to attract them he seems to have desired to have a Popish usher, whom he could disavow at his pleasure also.

John Lanigan was able to proceed to the Irish College, Rome, in 1776, and soon became a distinguished student at the Sapienza. Thence he went to Pavia, having declined a perilous invitation to attend the notorious synod presided over at Pistoia by Scipio Ricci, an invitation pressed on him by the notable Jansenist theologian, Pietro Tamburini. In 1789 he was elected to the Chairs of Oriental Languages and of Ecclesiastical History. In the same year appeared his inaugural address: *De origine et progressu Hermeneuticae Sacrae*, and in 1791 followed his work on Biblical Exegesis, mainly historical. The historical bent of his studies was evident in all that he wrote in Italian and Latin: he had been formed in the school of historical writing that was so nobly inaugurated by Muratori.

Dr. Lanigan returned to Ireland, on the closing of the University of Pavia, in 1796, and was welcomed in Dublin by Dr. Hamill, Vicar-General of Dublin, an old friend in Rome, and a notable writer of Latin prose and verse. On the proposal of the Primates, Dr. O'Reilly of Armagh and Dr. Troy of Dublin, both of whom proved themselves constant friends of Dr. Lanigan, his name was put forward for those chairs at Maynooth (then just founded) which he had occupied with distinction at Pavia. A man of marked reserve and dignity of character, Dr. Lanigan felt deeply some suspicions put in circulation as to his relations with the Jansenist and Josephist parties then influential in Northern Italy, and declined to even consider any exceptional form of declaration as to his views, while stating his willingness to accept any of the usual and canonical formularies provided. He at once withdrew his name, and took up ordinary ecclesiastical work under Dr. Troy, to whom the whole position in Italy at the time was thoroughly well known as a former Prior of San Clemente. In 1799 his exceptional qualifications led to his appointment as Librarian to the Royal Dublin Society at the meagre salary of £80 a year; the increase to £150 was delayed many years. With such Irish scholars as William Halliday and Edward O'Reilly, names always to be held in honour, he founded in 1808 the Gaelic Society; and his pen did good service against the rancorous but influential Ascendancy journalism of John Giffard, "the Dog in Office," ancestor of a recent Lord Chancellor of England.

From 1799 to 1822 Dr. Lanigan worked steadily at his *Ecclesiastical History of Celtic Ireland*, and the result has been of enduring value. Orderly in method, severely rigorous in statement, precise and logical in his comment, this very fine example of judicial impartiality and reserve may be supplemented, but it cannot be displaced. Lanigan did not escape the influence of the doctrines of Vallancey as to the nature of pre-christian Irish culture, but this

element in his work is at most small and can easily be noted. He is perhaps at his best in his excellent chapters on the work of Irish missionaries abroad, for which his previous studies in Italy, based on the secure principles established by Muratori, peculiarly fitted him. He was incomparably superior even to such a writer as Charles O'Conor; and even yet, after the lapse of more than a century since its issue in 1822, nothing has appeared that can be said to supplant Dr. Lanigan's volumes. In them one is always sure to find the real facts carefully sifted and clearly presented. Withal he was a true lover of Ireland and zealous for her record of achievement; he rightly held that the true road to the establishment of that noble position must be constructed only of materials sound enough to stand the strain of even the most exacting tests. If the Roman and Northern Italian schools of historical presentation and research, at the close of the old regime, can claim Lanigan as their genuine product, their quality must have been very high indeed. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge, nor even Paris or Louvain, could point to his equal, not to say his superior, as a qualified historical writer; while the special though extensive area covered by his four volumes presented many intricate problems and involved much exploration work of a pioneer character. No writer on Irish ecclesiastical history, since the great men of the first half of the seventeenth century—Colgan, White, Ward, and their fellow workers at Rome and Louvain—can be held more worthy of a memorial.

That memorial has been executed in a simple and dignified style, in a manner entirely typical of the writer whose worth and work it briefly records. It was set up during the early autumn, in a good position, beside the central passage arch of one of the many walls of the porticoes of the University of Pavia, devoted since the Renaissance to such excellent use and limited to Professors of the University. The same fitting practice may be observed in the quadrangles of the older University

Building at Bologna, connected like the University of Pavia, in the middle of the sixteenth century, with the name of that great humanist, legist, and saint, Charles Borromeo. At Bologna, however, there is much more ornateness of style, not to speak of what may be called flamboyant; and at Bologna it was the custom—it never was at Pavia—that young nobles among the students should also affix their inscribed escutcheons.

To the ceremony of the unveiling of the memorial tablet to Dr. Lanigan the National University of Ireland was specially asked to send a representative; and it fell to the writer of this limited notice of the place and the occasion to attend on November 5, 1925, the inaugural proceedings of the Academic Year at Pavia. The Victory Festival took place the day before: the ceremonies of the Rectorial Address, and the inaugural lecture to the students and the military, civic, and other public representatives of Lombardy were very interesting to a sojourner from Ireland. The topic of Italian demography, especially as expressed in emigration to the United States since 1880, could not fail to suggest many comparisons: and the conduct of academic business, the effusiveness of the student pronouncements, which were merely vocal and always musical, had their lesson also. So, too, had the masterly vigour with which the Rector's address overcame even pronounced musical accompaniments, and the full attention given to the complete text of the inaugural lecture by a large body of students and others of older years.

When the inauguration of studies was over, the Rector invited those present to attend the brief ceremonies attending the unveiling of the Lanigan Memorial Tablet, to which and to the presence of a delegate from the Senate of the National University of Ireland he had made special and very cordial reference in his previous public address. In the courtyard, before a large audience of professors and students, civil and military officials, visitors and past students, Dr. Solmi, Rector of the University of Pavia,

then unveiled the memorial with a brief and appropriate address. The thanks of the delegate from the National University Senate were expressed in Latin, in the course of which the connections of Ireland with the University of Pavia in its earlier period, and its services, in common with other Italian centres of learning, to Irish students who crossed into Europe during the penal times, were alluded to. A Latin reply was made in eloquent and terse style by the Professor of Classics, and the short but significant ceremony ended. The welcome extended to the Irish visitor, whose academic robes, as was frequently remarked, happened to be made up in the national tricolor of Italy, was most kindly and cordial, and in this connection the Syndic of Pavia (Professor Vaccari), the Prefect, the late Rector (Dr. Villa), and the Director of the Borromean College may be specially recorded here. To the Rector, Dr. Arrigo Solmi, much is also due for his effective services throughout ; and it may be added that his chapters on the early history of the University, contained in the Centenary *Contributi alla Storia dell' Università di Pavia* (Pavia, 1925), have been fully utilised in the following pages, wherein a brief survey of the relations of Ireland and Pavia, a thousand years ago, is attempted.

The fine medal by which Pavia commemorates the end of the academic year 1925 bears the inscription, "Universitatis Ticinensis XI Saecularia," and this reference to the summer of the year 825 has a direct interest for all who are concerned with the traditions of Irish scholarship in mediaeval Europe. Though it was on April 13, 1361, that the Emperor Charles IV. granted at Nuremberg the diploma constituting, at the instance of Galeazzo Visconti, "generale studium utriusque iuris, tam canonici quam civilis, nec non philosophiae, medicinae et artium liberalium," yet the procuring of this imperial document by the ruler of Pavia was not indicative of any novel foundation for higher studies. The chronicler Petri Azari, cited by Muratori (xvi., 406),

made clear the antiquity of studies at Pavia by a special note on the action of Galeazzo Visconti. "Curavit habere universa studia in civitate Papiae, in qua antiquitus fuisse dicuntur. Et certe de iure bene stat." The older foundation has always been referred academically to the education law or capitulary of Lothair, granted at Corteolona, near Pavia, in May, 825. The young sovereign had in 817 been associated in imperial rule by Louis I., and had in October, 822, been given special charge of Northern Italy. With Wala, Adelard of Corbie, and other able counsellors, all devoted to the idea of the unity of the Western Empire, including all Northern Italy, he proceeded to legislate, and the legislation extended, in a very special way, to the organisation of higher education in the lands within his immediate charge. The text is of such distinct importance, both in its Irish connections and in its whole method and aim, that it may be given here in full :—

De doctrina vero, quae ob nimiam incuriam atque ignaviam quorundam praepositorum cunctis in locis est funditus extincta, placuit, ut sicut a nobis constituta est, ita ab omnibus observetur. Videlicet, ut ab his, qui nostra dispositione ad docendos alios per loca denominata sunt constituti, maximum detur studium qualiter sibi commissi scholastici proficiant atque doctrinae insistant, sicut praesens exposcit necessitas. Propter opportunitatem tamen omnium, apta loca distincte ad hoc exercitium providimus, ut difficultas locorum longe positorum, ac paupertas, nulli foret excusatio. Id sunt : primum in *Papia* conveniant ad *Dungalum* de Mediolano, de Brixia, de Laude, de Bergamo, de Novaria, de Vercellis, de Terdona, de Aquis, de Janua, de Aste, de Cuma ; in *Eporegia* ipse episcopus hoc per se faciat ; in *Taurinis* conveniant de Ventimillia, de Albigano, de Vadis, de Alba ; in *Cremona* discant de Regio, de Placentia, de Parma, de Mutina ; in *Florentia* de Tuscia respiciant ; in *Firmo* de Spoletinis civitatibus conveniant ; in *Verona*, de Mantua, de Trento ; in *Vincentia* de Patavis, de Tarviso, de Feltris, de Ceneda, de Asylo ; reliquae civitates *Forum Iulii* ad scholam conveniant. (*Capitul.*, ed: Boretius, I. 327).

All scholars who have followed the lead of Muratori accept this text as marking a definitive constitution of

regional university centres for both general and professional studies: the attempt made in 1845 by Giesebrecht to limit its force to strictly ecclesiastical studies has failed to win acceptance, and this failure has come not only from an unwarranted limitation of the term "doctrina" to ecclesiastical studies, but also on the special quality of the scholarship of the one scholar expressly named in it. Dungal of Ireland had won fame not only as a theologian, but also as a "rhetor" or humanist at the court of Karl the Great, who had in 812 specially assigned him Pavia as a teaching centre. The civic areas which were, by Lothair, directed to send their students to Pavia were by far the most important section of the lands under his rule. The circle of country marked by Turin, Genoa, Lodi, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, and including Novara, Milan, Asti, Tortona, Vercelli, was about a fourth of the whole territory thus delimited among eight university centres: it was placed first, as Pavia had long been the effective capital of the Lombard kings before the Franks became masters of the north of Italy. There was here also evidence of the acceptance of the doctrine of continuity, as Mengozzi pointed out in 1923, in his inquiry into the educational position of Pavia in the early middle ages. Taken in conjunction with the canon of Eugenius II. "de scholis *reparandis* pro studio litterarum," issued in 826, it is clear that the University of Pavia acted rightly in dating its formal foundation from the decree of May, 825.

The immediate connections of Dungal and the University foundation of Pavia with the triad of monastic centres—Luxeuil, Saint Gall, Bobbio—founded by S. Columbanus and his companions in the period 585-615, are too well known to need long insistence in this brief notice. Mgr. Gramatica, of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, has dealt very interestingly with the scope of the Bobbio Library in *La Scuola Cattolica* (1923, fasc. 3), and his summary is supported by Steffens (*Lateinische*

Palaographie, I. 27) and by Schiaparelli, writing in 1916 on the Irish abbreviations system and its origins. Mgr. Gramatica points out that two of the MSS. Ambrosianæ (A 135, *inf.*, I 89, *sup.*) are a compendium of the teaching of Dungal on the ecclesiastical side : the former of these, on the Epistles of St. Paul, has the explicit statement of the great teacher's Irish origin and of his connection with the Columban foundations :—

> Sancte Columba, tibi Scotto tuus incola Dungal
> Tradidit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur :
> Qui legis, ergo, deus pretium sit muneris, ora.

The three monasteries and, above the rest, Bobbio itself long had a succession of abbots from Ireland, and a continuous inflow of Irish monks as well. That Bobbio continued, for five centuries after its foundation by St. Columbanus, to be " l'un des foyers les plus intenses de la vie intellectuelle en Italie," that in the period 900-1000 its library was " la plus importante de toute la peninsule," the conclusions of Besson, may be placed to the credit of our country and its outpouring tide of scholars ; in a word, as summarised in 1925 by Carlo Guido Mor (*Bobbio, Pavia, e Gli " Excerpta Bobiensia,"* p. 62, Pavia), the source of the teaching revived and reorganised by Dungal in 825 was " Bobbio, monastero irlandese de nascita e di spirito."

What were the special notes of that teaching ? The records from 825 to 1361 have nearly all perished, by a fire that devastated the city archives of Pavia as disastrously as the fire that cost us so many valuable sections of the Bobbio library at Turin twenty years ago. But there remain letters of students, notices of the lives of scholars at Pavia, inscriptions, and references in the Glossators of this epoch, quite sufficient to show that Pavia was always noted for its special combination of Law and Literature. Archbishop Lanfranc, as his biographer Milo Crispo (*Lanfranci archepiscopi Cantaurensis vita*, 15) noted, was at Pavia educated " in scholis liberalium artium vel

legum secularium ad suae morem patriae." The very human letter of a university student at Pavia to his uncle, composed between 1119 and 1124 and put into a collection of specimen letters in a course on the "ars dictandi," pleads for fresh subsidies, as the writer prefers "mori, quam ad innumeras et mordentes derisiones, sine scientia litterarum, gratia cuius huc veni, repatriare." There were evidently "chronics" in the Faculty of Arts in those days. Between Lanfranc's student years and those of the letter contained in the collection called "Gemma," a monk of S. Victor of Marseilles wrote from Pavia to his abbot about his desire to study law: "Nunc autem, quia per totam Italiam scholares, et maxime Provinciales, legibus catervatim studium adhibentes incessanter conspicio, aliquantulam huiusmodi scientiam habere desidero."

This thorough combination of these two great fields of humane studies, so vigorously pleaded for by Valla (1407-1457), himself a Professor of Law at Pavia, in the Prefaces to his "Elegantiae," and realised so finely by Alciatus in the same halls a century later, was a special characteristic of the school of Bobbio. Both were held to be truly liberalising studies, and the combined result was the complete "Romanitas" aimed at specially by S. Columbanus himself and by Dungal. It is fully borne out by what we know of the contents of the Bobbio Library. All the partial catalogues bear witness to its having been exceptionally well provided with texts of both Roman Civil Law and of Canon Law; and two of them subjoin, to the lists under the former head, the significant entries: "Libros Legum Langobardorum duos" and "Leges Francorum et Alamanorum." The historical position of Lombardy, with its succession of governmental conditions, reflected itself both in the library of Bobbio and in the teaching of the University of Pavia. So did the Irish origins of monastic law and tradition: two of the most important MSS. that yet

survive (Ambros. G. 58 *sup.*; Labronico, 10) contain the collections of Irish canon law, and especially the text of the canonical penalties, afterwards used in the great collection "Anselmo Dedicata."

The fate of the Bobbio library has been described, as to its final stages, in the masterly tract of A. Ratti (H. H. Pope Pius XI.), *Le ultime vicende della Biblioteca e dell' Archivio di S. Columbano* (Milan, 1903). It had been largely transferred to Milan in 1606, to serve as the basis of the Ambrosian Library. Some volumes had been sent to Rome about the same period, at the instance of Pope Paul V. Of what remained, the French Revolutionary epoch in Northern Italy, so fatal to Dr. John Lanigan's work at Pavia, took its toll. The monastery was suppressed. The library was sold to a private person for fifty lire. It still contained over a hundred MSS.; and as to the books, the inventory tells us that, *inter alia*, they comprised "onze gros livres de droit canonique," and that "nous avons trouvé ensuite sur deux grands rayons l'un des quels contenait 110 livres de droit civil."

That Pavia was in right line with Bobbio, as to the importance of law, civil and canon, the following facts show. In 1741, before the inept proposals of Kaunitz for a radical alteration of the professorial staff, there were three professors of Canon Law, eight of Civil Law, five of Theology and Scriptural Studies, seven of Philosophy, seven of Medicine, thirteen of Arts and Philosophy. The predominance of Law and of Arts was clear at the close of the eighteenth century, as it was clear, too, when the reputation of Pavia was built up in the epoch from Dungal in 825 to Alciatus in the middle of the sixteenth century. With full justice, therefore, the centenary medal represents as enthroned with equal dignity the twin faculties of Law and Letters, the "Universitas Artistarum" and "Universitas Juristarum," which together made up the "Studium Papiense"; and the effigy of Dungal, in the chair to the right hand, gives him

his due place, while Baldus—whose magnificent monumental effigy is one of the glories of the University quadrangles—occupies a lower chair, and is represented on a lesser scale, to the left. Both Valla and Alciatus would have praised the design.

Yet this is not all. Quite properly the University of Pavia does not live in the past alone, though it takes full cognisance of that past and maintains its traditions. The University directed its energies to no small extent, since the epoch when the professorial staff was as described above, to the promotion of experimental research. When it had to choose one figure for the commemorative medal, it chose that of Alexander Volta, and it did well. Great in experimental science, great as "Naturae interpres et aemulus," as the finely worded inscription below the memorial figure in his classroom still tells the students of physics, he was also a man of history and letters: he took a deep interest in the learned studies of his colleague and intimate friend, John Lanigan. A practical Catholic, too, was Volta, at a time when academic unbelief had become fashionable in the Latin countries. In utter opposition to Voltaire and the anti-democratic as well as anti-christian group that he formed in France and in Italy, Volta not only taught his classes in an entirely religious spirit, but did persevering and modest service in the direct propagation of Catholic truth. For many years he taught the Catechism every Sunday to little children in the humble country parish church of Brunate, in the diocese of Como, within the sphere of influence that Lothair assigned to Dungal as teacher in the Metropolitan University of Pavia. So runs an inscription which can be read on the walls of that church to-day: and the choice of Volta as the main figure on the centenary medal of the University he honoured by his great and enduring work, is at once an index of the revived nobility of aim and loftiness of standards in Italian Universities, and a reminder of the spirit in which their finest work, not only

in the Liberal Arts but in the Higher or Professorial Schools, was done in the past, should be done now and in the coming centuries.

Perhaps in no other University centre in Europe is the student of the nobler arts of the past brought into such living contact with the Christian traditions of the land in which his University is set to serve. The fine courts of the University buildings are themselves an enduring record of its teaching work through the ages of faith. Reconstructed in the severer classic style of the earlier sixteenth century, they exhibit, in places now left bare by design, the Lombard work and the Gothic work of the late middle ages; and in the hundreds of academic monuments and inscriptions they range backward from the twentieth century to the twelfth. Statues are very few: grandiose record there is none. Two others among the Catholic residential colleges attached to the University recall the great names of the initiation of Catholic Reform. To St. Charles Borromeo is due the Collegio Borromeo, a stately and beautiful building which shows only some slight trace of baroque on the facade, the part last to be completed. It still serves well its founder's purpose in providing for poorer University students; it is still governed by his code of laws, and still enjoys the patronage of his family under the provision and foundation that he made. In another corner of this quadrangle formed by the city walls stands the Ghislieri College, before which stands the fine statue of its founder, Pope St. Pius V. Larger in scale, severer in style than its sister college, it has been restored to be a worthy memorial of the great saint and Pontiff who organised the successful defeat of the Turks at Lepanto, and who by the direct and courageous action he took in excommunicating and declaring deposed Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, saved from absorption into Tudor Protestantism the faithful remnant of Catholics in England.

The Renaissance thus enters into the University struc-

tures at Pavia in its most worthy and dignified form. But other buildings that ring round the inscription-covered courtyard walls of the University quadrangle have even a deeper interest to the student of the Christian past of Europe. Quite too much attention has been directed, by guide-books and by organisers of tours, to the Certosa of Pavia. There is nothing at the Certosa which can compare with the impressiveness of the Church of St. Michael within the city of Pavia itself. This finest monument of Lombard architecture within Lombardy itself transcends, so to speak, historic record. There was a Church of St. Michael there in 650 A.D., and so great an authority as Ruskin held that the present church is substantially of that date. Others assign it to the tenth, to the eleventh, to the twelfth century: Cattaneo probably is correct in holding that it includes all these periods of harmonised progress. To an Irish visitor its wonderful southern door calls up the memory of much that is similar in early Irish Christian architecture.

But even more venerable in its connection with early Christian education is another Lombard church at the diagonally opposite corner of Pavia, that of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. It certainly is of the beginning of the seventh century: it is mentioned by Paulus Diaconus under the year 604. To it Luitprand brought the Benedictines, and to it he and they brought the body of St. Augustine, for which the Lombard carvers in marble wrought, seven hundred years later, the wonderful four-story Arca, with its three-score of scenes from the life and works of the greatest writer of Christian Latin. In the crypt below repose the relics of Boethius, reverently and gracefully restored in outward form by the care of the Historical Society of Pavia within the period since the war. When to these two great writers on Christian education and on its living spirit of faith and work, of exalted intellectual effort, based in humility and ever directed to God's service, recorded by Dante, by Boccaccio, by Petrarch,

with veneration and devotion, *devoto e pietoso consorzio di uomini grandi*, one adds the memory that this church was famed through Christian Europe even before Dungal came to Pavia, and that by reason of its special glories Karl the Great, in 774, directed the creation of a school beside it, the endurance of the Past and its union with the Present can be realised at Pavia as at few other teaching centres in Europe. And there is the added consolation that in these two great centres of early Christian art, in their intact and undegraded spaciousness, the great sacrifice is offered every day for all the people, learned and simple. It is so, too, in the Basilica of S. Theodore, perhaps still in large part as it was in 476 A.D. before Odoacer came to Pavia; in the Basilica of S. Theodore, dating from 750, and in quite half a dozen other venerable structures that ring round the University buildings.

Substantially what Pavia was in the days of Dungal and before Dungal, that it was, to the Christian scholar, in the years when John Lanigan of Cashel taught there, and that it is for its eighteen hundred students of to-day. There has been development, but the earliest Christian record of architecture and of monumental art still functions at Pavia as it does not at Oxford or at Paris. The Irish visitor to Pavia, if he will but attend to what merits attention best, can easily recall what Pavia seemed to Dungal and to the other Scots of Ireland, when at the call of Karl and under the law of Lothair they welcomed, in the autumn of 825, students who by Imperial edict came to them from Lodi and Bergamo, from Asti and Acqui, Como and Tortona, Novara and Vercelli, Brescia, Genoa, and Milan—*Primum, in Papia conveniant ad Dungalum.*

T. Corcoran.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Its Ideals and Results[1]

BY E. J. PHELAN, M.SC.

MOST descriptions of the post-war period emphasise as its dominant characteristic the general conditions of economic disequilibrium. It is more than likely, however, that when the historian views it in longer perspective he will think of it as the period of international organisation. The economic disequilibrium will represent for him only another instance of a recurrent phenomenon, of special importance perhaps because of its intensity and extent, but differing only in degree and incidence from other phenomena of the same kind. The factor which differentiates this period from its predecessors is the institution of new political mechanisms destined probably to permanently affect the history of the world. It is true that many official international organisations existed before 1914, many more than is commonly supposed. But they were either limited to a few interested States, as in the case of certain International River Commissions, or so technical in character as to have no general political importance, as for example the Universal Postal Union, the Universal Telegraphic Union, etc. They were in a sense the forerunners of the new post-war organisations. They afforded the proof that in an increasing degree international regulation was required in order that the maximum advantage might be secured from certain developments of civilisation, and they demonstrated that international mechanisms could function satisfactorily in certain narrow fields. But their limited character did not presage the revolutionary developments of the last five years.

[1] Mr. Phelan has promised to deal, in a second article, with "Ireland and the International Labour Organisation."—Editor.

It is not intended in the present article to describe in detail all that new development, but it is desirable at the outset to draw attention to its novelty. The operation of any novel procedure, and in particular of one which, as will be seen, diverges from long established custom, necessarily involves the overcoming of a vast inertia. It constitutes therefore an element which should not be ignored in any attempt to appreciate the results achieved, more especially when it is a very brief commencing period which is under review.

It might be said of the pre-war system that it consisted of sovereignties which by definition, like parallel lines, had a very definite disinclination to meet, not only from regard for their theoretical absoluteness, which could only effectively exist at a distance and which might possibly not have survived close examination, but also because of the painful consciousness that meetings might result in damage to more than one axiom in their geometrical system and possibly bring the whole of it into disrepute. The post-war system of regular annual meetings of practically all sovereign states in the Assembly of the League of Nations amounted practically to the substitution of a new diplomatic geometry for the old.

It will be remembered that the International Labour Organisation came into existence simultaneously with the League of Nations itself. But, in fact, it may be claimed for it that it came into effective existence nearly a year before the League; for although both find their legal constitutional origin in the Treaty of Versailles, the Labour Organisation, under special resolution of the Peace Conference, held its first Conference in Washington in 1919 before the Peace Treaty actually became operative. It thus gave the first example of the new international machinery in action, and provided an experience which was of considerable value in the organisation of the first meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations in the following year

The programme of the Organisation is set out in the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and to the corresponding parts of the Treaties of Neuilly, Trianon and St. Germain (*i.e.*, the *ensemble* of the Treaties of Peace), and is indeed one of the most remarkable documents in diplomatic history. It is in fact startling to tumble across the following in these Treaties, the contents of which are most generally known by the mass of criticism which condemns practically all their settlements as injudicious :—

> Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice ;
>
> And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled ; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required : as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures ;
>
> Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries ;
>
> The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following :—

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to discuss in detail this solemn pronouncement, subscribed to by thirty-two belligerent powers and since accepted by twenty-six others.

The two reasons which are given for the setting up of the Organisation are, however, worthy of special note.

The first refers to the element of international competition which may act unfairly towards a country which raises its standards in advance of those prevailing in the countries with which it competes in the world markets. This was in fact the historical case for the creation of an International Labour Organisation. It had been found, particularly as regards the prohibition of the use of certain industrial poisons, that it was difficult, if not impossible, for one country to take isolated action because of the unfair advantage which it would give to its competitors who would be free to use the more poisonous but less expensive process. The foundation of the present Organisation may in one sense be traced to the Berne Convention of 1906 for the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus. It will, however, be readily seen that the argument of unfair competition does not apply only to the use of industrial poisons. It applies with equal force to any other measures of social progress, such as the limitation of the age at which children may be permitted to enter industry, the employment of women and young persons in dangerous processes, the regulation of working hours, etc. Interesting discussions have taken place as to the extent to which the argument is valid in actual practice. It is probably true that, during the period of economic and financial crisis which followed the war, it had little or no practical effect. It seems likely that as a more stable economic equilibrium is established in Europe the argument will once more have a real force, and in fact signs are not wanting that this is already the case. But whatever may be the exact economic pressure produced by unfair competition, and even if it be so small as to be in reality unimportant, the argument as invoked in the Preamble is not invalidated. The argument is in fact not so much an economic argument as a psychological one. So long as public opinion and employers in particular believe that either the State as a whole or a particular industry can be at a disadvantage

as regards international competition if conditions more favourable than those existing among their competitors are granted, so long will it be necessary to have some international machinery whereby this difficulty can be overcome.

The second argument advanced in the Preamble, to the effect that social peace is a condition of general peace, is more difficult to analyse. Some of its implications, however, will appear in the discussion of the general results of the Organisation in the conclusion of the present article.

The machinery which the Treaty provided for the realisation of the programme set out in the Preamble was simple, and may be described in brief outline as follows.

In the first place the Treaty sets up the International Labour Organisation, consisting of all States Members of the League of Nations. States subsequently admitted to membership of the League automatically become Members of the International Labour Organisation. The power of the Organisation to admit to its membership States non-Members of the League is not clearly defined, but the first session of the International Labour Conference took the decision to admit to membership Germany and Austria " with the same rights and obligations " as other Members, and that decision has never been challenged.

The Organisation acts through the International Labour Conference, which is attended by representatives of each Member of the Organisation and which must meet at least once a year. As in the case of the regular meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the provision for regular periodical meetings marked a distinct advance on previous procedure.

A much greater novelty, however, is introduced into the nature of the national representation. Each Member sends to the Conference four delegates, two of whom are Government delegates acting on Government instructions.

The other two, however, although carrying Government credentials in order to give the Conference its necessary diplomatic character, have to be chosen by the Government in agreement with the most representative organisations of employers or workers in the country concerned.

The Conference thus provides a rather startling example of vocational representation, and it is curious to note that so bold an experiment should have been made in the international field.

It may be added that the obligation of the Governments to consult the representative organisations is no mere formality, but must result in real representation being secured to the employers and workers. The Treaty provides that the credentials of the delegates shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, and the Conference is specifically authorised to refuse to admit any non-Government delegate whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with the above conditions. As a matter of fact, the Conference has been very active in exercising this power, and one disputed case actually resulted in a question of interpretation going up to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.

The primary business of the Conference is to attempt to arrive at Draft Conventions, that is to say, at draft international treaties, which if ratified will result in the same or equivalent progress being made in the ratifying States.

In many ways the most novel, the most important, and the most ingenious part of the mechanism which the Treaty of Peace created is the relation between the Conference and the States Members. Great as were the innovations introduced at Paris, it was obviously not possible to give to the Conference legislative power in the sense that its decisions would become automatically operative within the various States. That would have meant a complete surrender of sovereignty by Members

as regards all questions of labour and social legislation. On the other hand, it was felt that if the Conference was to be a purely advisory body, adopting resolutions like a public meeting, having no other authority behind them than the degree of unanimity reached and the importance of the individuals voting in their favour, it could not be expected to achieve very much in the way of results.

The solution of this dilemma is to be found in Article 405 of the Treaty, which provides that if the Conference has adopted a Draft Convention by a two-thirds majority, the Government of each Member is under obligation to bring that Draft Convention before the legislative authority in its particular country before the expiration of twelve or in exceptional cases eighteen months. It is for the legislative authority to decide whether or not the Draft Convention shall be ratified. The responsibility and the independence of the Government are preserved, since the Government is under no obligation to recommend to the legislative authority the acceptance of the Convention, even though it may have voted for it at the Conference. On the other hand, the Government is not entitled to pigeonhole the Convention or to take a purely executive decision on it; the Draft Convention, having secured the approval of the necessary majority in the Conference, goes as it were by referendum to the various Parliaments, who decide openly and in the light of public opinion whether ratification is to follow. The system is interesting not only as a compromise between the conception of a real international Parliament and a merely advisory meeting, but also as being something in the nature of a general international recognition of the fact that the real seat of sovereignty has now passed to the legislative authority.

If the legislative authority approves a Draft Convention, the Draft Convention is then ratified by means of the usual instrument of ratification which is deposited

with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, or by such other procedure as the country concerned may have adopted for the purpose of entering into international engagements.

There remains one last provision of which mention must be made if this very summary account of the mechanism is to be complete. Previously the solemn act of ratification would undoubtedly have been considered a sufficient guarantee, and any open control of the execution of the engagement entered into would have been thought derogatory to the dignity of the contracting State. In the case of Labour Conventions, however, the technical character of which makes possible various degrees of application even where there may be no question of bad faith, it was deemed necessary to require a further measure of guarantee. Hence Article 408 of the Treaty provides that each State Member which has ratified a Convention shall send in an annual report on the measures taken to secure its application, and these reports have to be brought forward each year for the examination of the Conference. They thus provide a mutual supervision, which is the best possible guarantee for ratifying States, the more so since the reports are open to the scrutiny not only of Government officials but of employers and of workers. Sanctions are provided for cases where non-observance can be proved; but it is likely that this annual mutual supervision will prove sufficient, and that the Articles relating to sanctions will be rarely invoked.

Obviously a body like the Conference, with the duties and powers summarily indicated above, would be unable to function without the assistance of a properly organised and equipped administration.

The Treaty therefore provided for the setting up of the International Labour Office, which more or less corresponds to the civil service of the Conference.

It organises the meetings of that body, provides

secretaries and interpreters, publishes a daily verbatim record of the proceedings, and after the close of the Session watches over the operation of the subsequent procedure as laid down in the Treaty, reminding Governments of their obligations and furnishing assistance and advice as circumstances may require.

Its duties, however, also comprise the collection and distribution of information on labour questions, a function which is becoming of increasing practical importance, since, as social legislation is always an expensive experiment, no State can now afford to embark upon legislation of so technical and costly a kind without having at its command the experience which has been gained in the same field by other countries.

The Office is under the control of a Governing Body of twenty-four members, of whom twelve are Government representatives, six employers, and six workers. Eight of the Governmental seats are held by the Eight States of Chief Industrial Importance, and the other four members are elected by the remaining Governments at the Conference. The employers' and workers' representatives are similarly elected by the employers' and workers' delegates at the Conference respectively.

The Governing Body decides upon the questions which are to be placed on the agenda of the Conference, and the work of preparing these questions and producing on them a preliminary draft which serves as a basis for the discussions of the Conference, very much as a Bill serves as the basis of discussion in a Parliament, is carried out by the International Labour Office.

Thus the machinery which the Treaty provides for the Organisation consists of a Conference, a Governing Body, and an Office. We have now to attempt to examine what are the results which have been achieved by this new organisation after some five years of existence.

Twenty Conventions and twenty-five Recommenda-

tions[1] have been adopted by the Conference at its seven Sessions; one hundred and eighty-two ratifications have been registered and thirty-one ratifications have been approved by the appropriate legislative authorities, and await only formal transmission. Compared with the slowness with which ratifications were secured for the comparatively simple and non-controversial white phosphorus Convention in the pre-war period, these figures indicate a very successful achievement.

It must be remembered, however, that in many cases it is impossible for a State to consider ratification until it has made a change in its national legislation on the subject concerned; and again, a State may make changes in its national legislation, but those changes, although made in the direction of the Convention, may not satisfy all of its provisions and therefore may not allow of ratification taking place. The figure of ratifications deposited or pending is therefore by no means a complete measure of the results which have been achieved in the direction of realising the programme set out in the Preamble. Something like four hundred Bills have been introduced or passed in the various Parliaments of the world as a direct result of the decisions of the Conference.

These statistical measures are not, however, those by which the success or failure of the Organisation can best be tested. Other tests, which cannot be expressed in figures, are undoubtedly the considerations on which its value should be judged. It might, in fact, be said that if no Conventions had been ratified, the International Labour Organisation would still be able to claim to be a success, and if all its Conventions had been ratified by all its Members, it is not impossible to conceive that it might be judged a failure.

In the first place, there is the proof which it has

[1] A Recommendation is adopted by the Conference in the same way as a Draft Convention, and there is an obligation on each Member to submit it for national consideration in exactly the same way. It is not, however, subject to ratification, and hence unlike a Draft Convention cannot become a binding international contract.

afforded of the possibility of a new and greater measure of international co-operation. Concurrently with the League it has helped to establish firmly the new diplomacy of conference and contact and to undermine the older system of distance and distrust. It has produced evidence of the value of the direct association of the representatives of the interests affected in the formulation of decisions which concern them. It has successfully broken down the old rule whereby international decisions could only be reached by unanimity, and has therefore opened up possibilities of wider and more rapid international agreement. It has, in fact, been a successful experiment which has proved that a measure of international democracy has now become possible.

Apart from the value which may thus be attributed to its existence in the international sphere, it has had a very marked influence on certain national developments entirely outside of any matters treated in its Conventions. It is of considerable interest, for example, to note that much of the recent political controversy in Japan, dealing with constitutional changes in which the International Labour Organisation as such has no concern, has centred round the question of the submission of Draft Conventions adopted by the Conference to the Privy Council or to Parliament.

It is certain, also, that the existence of the Organisation and the tripartite constitution of the Conference with, as its corollary, the existence of national organisations of employers and workers, has had a profound effect on the development of employers' and workers' organisations throughout the world. In the case of countries the industrial development of which has been recent and rapid, the existence of the Organisation has led on the one hand to the earlier recognition of a serious Trade Union movement, and, on the other, has provided a programme acceptable to new and inexperienced labour movements, because it represents a compromise accepted by older and more powerful unions in more advanced countries.

But what may be taken perhaps as the greatest test of its value is simply this—that it has succeeded in existing. It is no small thing that during the past five and a half years, when economic disturbances in almost every country in the world have had as their inevitable repercussion industrial friction and often conflict, and when the labour movement itself has been split at times with all the bitterness of a civil war, the Organisation should have gone on functioning with its seven Conferences and its twenty-nine meetings of the Governing Body, and should, with relatively few exceptions, have been able to arrive, on points often of acute controversy, at unanimous decisions.

Of the psychological value of that repeatedly successful contact in negotiation of workers and employers, there is no statistical measure; but it is significant that, in the recent attempts to secure among the Communist and non-Communist Trade Unions a "united front," the primary condition proposed by the Communist Unions was that the Unions of the Second International should abandon their support of and participation in the International Labour Organisation. Lenin is reported to have said that the choice confronting the workers is whether they will follow Moscow or Geneva, and evidence is not wanting in the publications of the Red International to show that it regards Geneva as its greatest enemy. That attitude is perhaps comprehensible in view of the successful record of the International Labour Organisation and of the fact that its annual Conferences bring together the representatives of something like thirty millions of organised workers. Those Conferences are indeed the real achievement of the "united front"; for there and there only do the unions of practically all countries, and not only the "Amsterdam" unions but the Catholic unions as well, unite with one another and with Governments and employers in a common effort towards the realisation of social justice.

E. J. Phelan.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXXII—Heartrending News

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

For the author of this poem see Nos. VI., VII. and XIII. of this series. It must have been written when news came of the illness of Rury O'Donnell, Earl of Tyr connell, who died in Rome July 28, 1608. The poet seems to have had some difference with his patron, but his private resentment and his personal grief are now swallowed up by a sense of the national ruin.

The text is from the MS. numbered 6131–33 in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, entitled *Leabhar inghine i Dhomhnaill*, "The Book of O'Donnell's Daughter."

Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird

1. Truagh do chor a chroidhe tim ;
beag an díoth t'olc no t'inghreim :
ón mhéid toirbhire do thoil
téid bhar n-oirbhire a n-asgoidh.

2. Urusa t'ionntódh ar ais,
mór do-gheibh fios bhar bhforais ;
truagh do chor, ní cás do shíodh,
gá ttás do dhol a ndeimbríogh.

3. Ná seachnadh duine ar domhan
bhar ngríosadh, bhar ngortoghadh :
as t'uchd ní hintinn meisi,
gá dulc t'inntinn uaisleisi ?

4. Gibé sgél do reacadh ruinn
an tráthsa a ttaobh I Dhomhnaill,
mo náire 'na amhghar ort,
adhbhor gáire do ghluasacht.

5. Do-chím tar chenn gach diomdha
uaim dar thuill mo thighiorna
ar a chneidh nach coduil sibh,
neimh bhar gcoguidh do-cíthir.

6. Caidhe an chúis do chuiris róibh,[1]
caidhe an uaisle no an onóir,
caidhe an fhearggomh ané anois,
más sé do threaghdadh tárrois ?

7. A ndíaigh a n-abruim oruibh,
a chroidhe bocht banamhuil,
fa fhlaith sriobhshrotha Sligigh,
maith t'ionghotha im fhoighidin.

8. Lámh I Dhomhnuill Dúna ós Sáimh
d'easgor más fhíor san Eadáil,
cúis bhar n-amhluaigh ós sí soin,
ní hí an anbhuain gan fhochoin.

9. Gidh eadh, ní hé h'eagla[2] féin
budh cás libh, gér lór d'oilbhéim,
achd don triall tarla roimhe,
's d'iath Bhanbha go mbeanfoidhe.

10. D'éis a ndearna go nua ano's
san easgor fuair flaith Bearnois,
gá ttás robadh soiréidh sionn
achd cás oiléin na hEirionn.

11. Gibé mar tá ar reacadh ruinn
dá gcluineadh críoch Clann gConuill,
do mheasfadh a míobhuadh féin,
an easghlan shíodhfhuar shoilléir.

12. Dá gcluineadh sliocht Gaoidhil Gh'ais
a gcuala ó mhac mheic Maghnais,
budh mór bhfáth gcomhrúin fá a cheann
ag bláth fhonnmhúir na hEireann.

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[1] róimh MS. [2] a heagla MS.

13. As sé adéara gach duine,
dá bhfilltí réim Rudhruidhe
cía linn do laoidhfidhe anocht,
ó saoilfidhe inn d'fhurtocht ?

14. An Coimsidh do-chí bhar ndáil,
a chríoch Mhac Míleadh Easbáinn,
go bhfégha ort is oirne,
sgéla ar olc nár fhaghoimne.

15. Bíodh nach cás ar dearbhadh dhúinn,
bíodh nach budh filleadh fortúin,
iomdha anoss fá dhoghruing de,
's ní a los I Dhomhnuill Daoile.

16. Easgar láimhe laoich Eirne
tug ar chridhibh coimhéirghi :
an teidhm tárra go ttí uadh,
ní bhí achd námha léan neamhthruagh.
Truagh.

Translation

1. Sad is thy plight, O feeble heart ; wrong or persecution against thee is but a slight injury : thou givest thy love away so freely that insult to thee goes unpunished.
2. Thou art easily discomfited ; many can sound thy depths ; sad is thy plight ; it is a light matter to chasten thee, indeed to render thee powerless.
3. Let no man on earth avoid provoking thee or hurting thee ; on thy behalf I cannot stand firm ; what avails thy noble ambition ?
4. Whatever tale has been told us now about O'Donnell, I am ashamed that it should vex thee : thy stirring is a cause of mockery.
5. I see that despite all the resentment that my lord has merited from me, thou dost not sleep upon his wound,[1] the fury of thy struggle is seen.
6. Where is the plea thou didst put forward, where is the nobility or the honour, where is now yesterday's indignation, if thou hast been stabbed through ?
7. After all that I say of thee, poor effeminate heart, good are thy jibes at my patience concerning the prince of Sligo's flowing stream.
8. That the hand of O'Donnell of Dún ós Sáimh[2] has fallen (if it is true) in Italy—since that is the cause of thy distress, it is no groundless alarm.

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[1] A metaphor implying callousness. *Cf.* II. 1.

[2] Donegal ?

9. And yet it is not fear for thyself that would trouble thee, though that were scandal enough, but that he should be taken from the journey he has purposed, and from the land of Banbha.

10. After all that the lord of Bearnas has done of late, in this fall that he has got I should indeed be at ease but for the trouble of Ireland.

11. However it be, if the land of the Children of Conall should hear what I have been told, she would think it her own ruin, that bright land of clear waterfalls and cool mounds.

12. If the race of Gaoidheal Glas should hear what I have heard from the grandson of Maghnus,[1] the flower of Ireland's ramparts would have many a reason for plotting about it.

13. Every man will say, "If Rury's succession were closed, whom should we celebrate to-night, as one through whom we might hope for deliverance?"

14. The Lord who seeth thy condition, O land of the Sons of Míl from Spain, may He look upon thee and upon me, may we get no ill news!

15. Though we were not troubled about what has been certified to us, though it were no reverse of fortune, many now are afflicted, and not (merely) because of O'Donnell of the Deel.[2]

16. The fall of the hand of the warrior of the Erne has caused hearts to swell: may the sickness he has caught depart from him—none but an enemy is unsaddened thereat.

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] Manus (†1563), grandfather of Rury.
[2] A river in Tír Chonaill.

GRUNDTVIG SCHOOLS AND IRISH COLLEGES

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR E. CLERY, LL.D.

THE fact that our country is being outdistanced in the agricultural race was brought painfully home to everyone by the last trade statistics. Naturally men's attention was fixed on Denmark, the wholly successful competitor. It is not here intended to dwell on the fact that Denmark is an independent country, an island of liberty as compared with our peninsula—the reverse of its geographical condition. Nor need we stop to notice that Denmark, being part of the continent, has in parts a less humid climate.

If cynicism could bring about prosperity, we have had enough of it in recent years. And if the abandonment of national sentiment is the way to increase our imports and exports, we may probably look forward to a very considerable increase in them in coming times, when the tendencies that manifested themselves in the recent Senate Election shall have had full play. But there is one country in Europe that has not yet learned this lesson, and that is Denmark. And there is one name in Denmark that stands for everything that is at the moment held in contempt in Ireland, the name of Grundtvig. There is of course nothing new in the relation of the Grundtvig story in Ireland; I have heard Patrick Pearse himself expound it. Miss G. A. M. Ffrench has told the story again in a recent pamphlet. In the forefront she puts a citation from the evidence of T. P. Gill before the Agricultural Commission:

> Every Danish statesman, or educationist, or leader of agriculture or industry, I have talked with has not failed to place the influence of the People's High Schools as the chief element of the country's remarkable progress.

Denmark's great educational experiment [says Miss Ffrench] originated during a period of deep depression in her national life ; and the man to whom, above all others, it owed its origin was N. F. S. Grundtvig, " the Prophet of the North." Grundtvig was deeply concerned at the apathy and depression that had settled down upon his country after the Napoleonic War. There was little evidence of enterprise, vision or public spirit, and the attainment of a small, secure income seemed to most people the chief end in life ; . . . . . the University was mainly a professional school, and there was no provision for higher education for the great mass of the people.

Irishmen will remember that Hyde and MacNeill started the Gaelic League in a similar period of depression, the Parnell split, and that the results of that foundation, ever extending, proceeded with unbroken pace for thirty years till 1921. We are now again in a period very like that of the nineties. For about twelve years Grundtvig went on preaching his idea, and then at last tried to put it in practice. In 1844 the first high-school was started, but the movement really took its beginning in 1851, when Christian Kold, son of a shoemaker, founded his school amid the direst poverty. His pupils spread his idea. After the defeat of the Danes in the war of 1864, the idea was adopted to the full. " What we have lost outwardly we must gain internally," said the people. And in the ten years after 1864 the number of Grundtvig schools rose from 11 to 54. Miss Ffrench speaks of the system as still developing, another informant tells me that it has passed its highest point and is now on the wane. Whatever be the truth, the schools have now beyond question done their work.

At the present time [says Miss Ffrench] there are about sixty-five High Schools scattered throughout Denmark, all residential, and mostly situated in country districts. They are entirely voluntary enterprises, being usually owned either by the Head Master or by a local share company. The State, while not interfering with the liberty of the Schools, assists them by yearly grants, which include a fixed sum of 1,000 kroner (at the present rate of exchange about £37) per school, in addition to a subsidy towards

the cost of teaching and upkeep, amounting to something between one-third and one-half of these expenses. The State also provides scholarships for the poorer students, but makes it a condition that all students must pay at least part of their expenses themselves ; the main object of this condition is that students should show that they themselves are really anxious to benefit by attendance at a High School. Attendance is purely voluntary, and there is a free cross-country movement of students who may prefer to go to a High School at a distance from their own homes. . . . The students are mostly drawn from the farming class, but other classes of society are also represented, especially at Askov. The young men usually come to the High School for five or six months in winter, the girls for three months in summer. Those who can afford it sometimes come for a second term. The age of the students is usually between 18 and 25. The fees are low, and the life in the High Schools is homely and simple.

The principal feature of the High School curriculum is history—both national and world history, taught vividly, dramatically, and with emphasis on the personal values in the lives of great men. The students are helped to realise the living connection between the past, the present, and the future. This history teaching does much to give them a wider outlook on life, and to induce a realisation of the place which their own country and their own generation hold in the process of human development. Literature is studied in the same broad and human way ; and through readings and recitations on social evenings the students become acquainted with many of the masterpieces of Scandinavian literature. Great stress is laid upon singing, singing in unison ; proceedings usually begin and end with song. Gymnastics also form portion of the course.

The reader, having heard of these schools, has probably thought of them as agricultural schools, and formed a vision of technical colleges teaching dairy-maids to churn or the like. But in actual fact Miss Ffrench tells us that "in more than half of the High Schools *neither farming nor any other technical subject is taught*"—that is, the training is not vocational. The question of the relation of the Grundtvig (or Kold) Schools to the technical schools proper is dealt with by Dr. Corcoran, S.J., in an article in the *Irish Monthly*, Dec., 1924. In a word, Bishop Grundtvig set out to reform Danish agriculture by teaching patriotism,

and the Irish farmer is at present suffering from the success of his policy. A deep religious sense has always been the basis of these schools, as might be expected from their founder. The old national and religious ideals are kept at all times before their students. For the Grundtvig idea is to the Dane very much what the Gaelic League idea was to Irishmen in the thirty years 1891–1921.

The mention of the Gaelic League will bring up to many minds the comparison of an Irish institution that has many points in common with the Grundtvig High Schools, the Irish College. I have fully described them in a previous article in this Review, and there has been little change in them since. In most of the books about Ireland there is no mention of them. And yet it is surely worthy of note that at Ballingeary, County Cork, at Ring, County Waterford, at Spiddal, County Galway, at Tourmakeady County Mayo, at Cloghaneally, County Donegal, at Omeath, County Louth, and at a number of other places, some two or three hundred students each, gather in the season to study Irish and Irish music and methods of teaching and kindred things. And most of these colleges have now been carrying on their work, usually for the two summer months, for about twenty years. This all came about from the founding of Ballingeary College just over twenty years ago after many difficulties by Sean O'Cuiv. The Grundtvig schools are certainly the closest national parallel. If such colleges existed in, say, Norway, for the purpose of teaching Norwegian history, music, and patriotism, nay if only one such college existed there, we should never hear the end of it.

There is, however, an important difference between the Grundtvig system and the Irish. Both sets of colleges have the same ideals, education founded on nationality and religion, and education provided at a cheap rate, under country conditions. Both probably approximate to the conditions of life in the pre-Refor-

mation university. But the Danish system is primarily intended for farmers, the Irish for people drawn from the farming class in the greater number of instances, but in few cases looking to farming as a means of livelihood. Founded as training colleges for teachers, the Irish colleges thus have considerably extended their scope, and in fact admit people of every urban class as well. But they are summer colleges. And that is the farmer's work-time. A college that is to have farming pupils of the male sex, must in general operate like the Grundtvig schools, in the winter months. And that is precisely what our Irish colleges do not do.

The Press has for its own reasons created a figure of a farmer that is now looming in politics, a being actuated only by a selfish stupidity. It is probably as untrue as most Press notions. If you could take a census of farmers, doctors, lawyers, and school-teachers, you would find that neither in the past nor the present was the farmer-class either the most selfish or the most stupid. But naturally it is the class that has least opportunity of school education.

Now the man who could turn even one Irish college into a Grundtvig school, a school frequented by farmers in the winter months, would perform an immense achievement. Is there any man among us who can get thirty or forty young farmers to attend a course somewhat like that of an Irish college for five months in the winter, once in their lives ? If such a man exists, he will deserve a fame little less than Grundtvig. For if one such college were set afoot, others would soon follow, just as they followed the original foundation in Denmark, or the model established by Sean O'Cuiv and Dr. O'Daly at Ballingeary. It is a work supremely difficult in its first commencement, but easy in its accomplishment. It is above all a work that does not depend very much on governments or the like, and that can be started in a time of despond like the present, when nothing else may

be attempted. A single capable head-master imbued with the proper spirit is all that is needed. Buildings and a well understood mode of life are already available. I should be inclined to suggest Ring College as the most suitable place for such an attempt, were it not that it is already occupied in winter by a school for boys. But all the other Irish colleges are vacant at that season.

It is possible that such an effort might thrive best in wholly new surroundings. For many of the Irish colleges are suffering from the loss of their original founders after 20 years, and a certain laxity of temperament has come upon some of them. It is only necessary that the session should be (1) in winter; (2) not specially adapted for teachers; (3) that the pupils be drawn from the farming class, *who intend to continue farming as a livelihood.* The course would be, like the course of present-day Irish colleges, based on National lines, but having regard to its object, would be somewhat less exacting and would be carried out in a broader spirit.

I am aware that in times like these it seems a mockery to suggest the foundation of anything, or that farmers should go anywhere except to Cobh. But the phase of cynicism and despair must pass. And it is precisely in times of hopelessness, as during the Parnell split, that the beginnings of important movements are to be found. I venture therefore to put forward my Scheme, supremely simple, supremely feasible, if only the man can be found to put it in practice.

ARTHUR E. CLERY.

NATIONALITY AS A CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY[1]

BY JOHN M. O'SULLIVAN, M.A., PH.D.

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THE difficulty of the particular problem which I propose to discuss in this paper is not lessened by the vagueness of the principal term. This, however, is a quality that it shares with other political concepts, a quality that does not diminish their political effectiveness, as is sufficiently illustrated by all revolutions and their catchwords. In the case of the concept "nationality" there is one ambiguity to which I may be permitted to call attention. It is this: we assume quite readily that the concept is a purely descriptive one, whereas in reality it not only describes a fact but expresses an ideal, an aspiration; in a way it partakes the twofold nature of a descriptive and of a normative concept. It refers as much to what a group aspires to be as to what it is; it tells us what a people desires and wills as much as what it feels and thinks. It asserts not merely the existence of unity and self-expression, but also a group's determination to achieve these things.

Whatever in abstract logic or morals we may think of the connection between the cultural concept of nationality and the juridico-political concept of independence, it were useless to deny the disruptive force of the connection in recent years. Its acceptance or the belief in its controversial value has affected nationalism in two ways. First, it has helped to give fresh life to nations whose sense of nationality was moribund; for the desire to achieve political independence may at times precede rather than follow the consciousness of distinct nation-

[1] A paper read at the Fifth Annual Conference of the International Catholic League, held at Oxford on August 11–16, 1925. The rules of the Conference prohibited concrete illustrations.

hood, or may grow *pari passu* with it. Secondly, to prevent the disruption that it is felt will follow the triumph of the principle of nationality, efforts are made by the dominant power to suppress all manifestations of a national spirit distinct from its own.

In this paper I have not to define "nationality." I assume—what in reality is the case—that the term has a real meaning, that it does not represent a chimera, and that however difficult it may be in individual cases to prove the existence of a nation, yet it can be proved. But there are certain elements, traits rather than constituent parts, to which I might for a moment direct attention, as they have an important bearing on the subject under discussion.

The nation has a *quasi* personality. There is a feeling of oneness, a will to be and to act as one; a distinct culture has been evolved, which at least tends to desire and even to create its own governmental machinery. Its members have grown together, so as to have developed a corporate consciousness, a spiritual oneness, a feeling that they can live happily when they live together, unhappily when forcibly separated or when subordinated to others. These things you will find in a nation, though by no means realised to the same extent by every nation, for "nationality" is an ideal to which different nations approximate in a greater or less degree.

As I do not propose to define nationality, so also it is only incidentally at best that I can touch on the growing importance of this force in the history of modern Europe. My problem is moral rather than historical. It is an attempt to determine whether the state should be made coincide with the nation—a principle that has attracted to itself some of the fervour of religious enthusiasm, that has evoked the highest heroism in the face of oppressive tyranny, that has led to the exercise of crime as well as to the exercise of virtue. My business is, as far as possible, to reach a conclusion on the moral value

of that principle of national self-determination which many minds have come to recognise as an axiom of political justice.

It has been argued that statehood is an essential element in the very concept of nationality, or at least that it is an inseparable mark thereof. If this were so, it would be absurd to argue that a nation *should become* a state; by the very fact that it is a nation it is already a state. A nation indeed has the aptitude for statehood, and in many cases is a state; and in general we may ask whether the nation is not the inner side of that entity of which the state is the external manifestation. Yet nationality is primarily a social or cultural concept, the state a politico-legal concept; other than political ties may bind a nation together.

What we have to consider is not whether a nation from the mere fact that it is a nation is thereby also a state, but whether, assuming that this is not the case, every nation ought to be a state.

Statesmen who, somewhat over a hundred years ago, essayed at Vienna a task rather similar to that recently attempted at Paris have met with much severe criticism, because they ignored the principle of nationality—often described as one of the strongest political forces of the nineteenth century. They are condemned, because they were guided by the concepts of the dead and gone eighteenth century. Yet these were the only ideas of sound government and of international relations with which they could reasonably be expected to be familiar or, as victors over the Revolution, sympathetic. However, if we look, not at the psychology of the statesmen, but at the consequences of their action, it may be allowed that there is much in the strictures passed on settlements which they imposed upon Europe.

Cannot a similar charge be brought against the statesmen of Paris and against all of us who sympathised, if not with their actions, yet with the reverence they pro-

fessed for the principle of nationality? Perhaps so. And yet each generation must act according to its lights and take the risks, even though a future, thinking itself wiser, may condemn it for attempting to arrange the map of Europe in accordance with the ideals of an age that was passing rather than in accordance with the ideals of the one that was dawning. A due modesty does not ill become human beings. It may be well to bear in mind that, however sound our principles, few concrete systems can claim permanence or hope to be anything better than improvisations, more or less successful, to meet existing situations. The most we can expect from them is to satisfy for the time being the conflicting claims of a number of sound principles. We may certainly *hope* that in this respect as in some others the world is progressing, that the principle of national self-determination, as a solvent of world-problems, is an advance on what went before, and that what has been so gained is not destined to be entirely lost. It must not, however, be forgotten that the principle of nationalities is not a rigid axiom like those of mathematics or ethics; it may perhaps be destined to change with the changes of our civilisation, and the present state-relations may be revised as being based too exclusively upon it.

To a state the advantages of a strong government and a sound code of laws are obvious; yet these may accomplish little unless the people have sound traditions, good habits, living loyalties. To enable the state to withstand the shocks and jars of life—in peace as in war—something more than the mere machinery of government is required, and that something nationality can give. In addition to the laws and to the duties they impose, devotion to the country and its institutions, devotion even to self-sacrifice, is necessary. The value of patriotism need not be argued here. In our times patriotism, when effective, when it makes a successful appeal to the masses of the population, means devotion to the fatherland

regarded as a nation. Nationality is indeed the child of tradition, history, and custom. Custom furrows deep the national character; it is their customs more than their positive laws that distinguish civilised nations from each other; for custom penetrates to every activity, to every phase of national life; it may even determine the practical value of the positive law, the attitude of the people towards it. The customs of a people form a large element of their nationality.

When the habit of living together and the feeling of association engendered by such life in common have become so strong that not even the destruction of the state destroys the will to hold together, we may confidently assert that the group has become a nation. Perhaps one of the best tests of distinct nationalism is a group's conviction and enduring determination that it *is* and *will continue to be* a nation.

Nor is it right, when dealing with the advantages of patriotism to the state, to forget the mystical element which is also present. It is this element that induces us to regard our country as our mother and our fellow-citizens (whatever their racial origin) as members of the same family, that binds us to our dead and to those yet unborn. *Le coeur a ses raisons que la raison ne connait point.*

A vigorous national feeling combined with a strong spirit of independence is perhaps one of the most solid foundations that a state can have.

I have dwelt on these matters: first, because of the conviction that in most discussions on the relations between nationhood and statehood attention is too exclusively devoted to abstract questions of title and not enough to considerations of utility—as if morality had nothing to do with utility; secondly, because the health of the individual members in the community of states is an important factor for the health of the whole and is therefore a legitimate and serious factor in dealing with the

ethics of their interrelation; thirdly, because vague professions of love for humanity will not carry the human race very far along the road to happiness and lasting peace. We love individuals, families, things—not abstractions; these latter can never engender enough emotional warmth to overcome the baser and less generous promptings of our nature. A bad father is not on that account the best citizen, even if it be admitted that devotion to our family sometimes conflicts with our duties to the state; and bad patriotism is but a poor preparation for citizenship of the world.

If, reacting against the evils consequent on the abuse of nationalism and the prominent (some think too prominent) position which it has occupied in modern politics, we feel tempted to reject nationalism altogether, condemning it as something selfish, limited, tribal, a superstitious relic of the past, we might ask what is the alternative we have to propose. If nationalism does not contain the whole truth—as without doubt it does not—neither does its exclusion. A poor substitute is offered by a colourless cosmopolitanism or a pulverising imperialism. The latter means only the triumph of one particular form of nationalism, whilst the former is an attenuated form of national life, the lowest common measure as it were, a bar to anything like full development. Because there are many dangers accompanying the too free play of the individuality of the state and because nationalism is one of the principal bulwarks of this individuality, to suppress nationalism on this account is like indulging in starvation to avoid death by poison. Political asceticism of this kind has no value.

National egoism is often developed to unjustifiable extremes, and it is natural enough to seek refuge from its ravages in some form of federative internationalism which would allow proper play to the legitimate ambition, national pride and self-reliance of each country. The majority of my readers recognise a supranational unity

in the Church, a unity to which the claims of nationality and political loyalty are subordinate. Can men make the effort to recognise some more general political unity than now exists, even though loyalty to it may never be so strong as the loyalty we owe to the nation ? Perhaps the future is neither with full isolation nor with world-empire, but with some form of federalism. Even if the ideal of a Christian Commonwealth of Europe petered out in the closing generations of the Middle Ages, further experience of our follies may win us again to unity. At any rate, when we envisage the problem of minorities, especially as presented in Eastern Europe, we may be permitted to doubt if anything, even on prinicple, has been won by the complete destruction of the Habsburg Empire.

To seek salvation either in cosmopolitan sentiment or in a world-empire, democratically or otherwise constituted, will remind the student of political science of those philosophers who have ultimately to take refuge in state-despotism from the exaggerated individualism with which they started. Such theories owed their plausibility to a flight from reality, to the assumption of an atomic isolation of the individuals that has no foundation in the facts of life. The *homo homini lupus* theory has its analogue in the political theory which sees in nations only those qualities that make them rivals and enemies. Similarly the basis of anti-national cosmopolitanism has its forerunner in the habit of eighteenth century thought which recognised generic man, but not the individual Frenchman, German, Indian. Then as now the conclusion will vary according to the taste of the individual speculator. On the one hand the strength and value of national characteristics and traditions are ignored—hence vain dreams of cosmopolitanism ; on the other hand the necessity of keeping the hostile peoples in some form of union so as to avoid the destruction of civilisation leads to the idea of an all-embracing empire as an external compelling force. The result of an attempt to realise

any such ideal may well be some form of pulverised feudal anarchy.

Truth is not to be found here any more than it is to be found in exaggerated chauvinistic nationalism. True nationalism and true internationalism must rise superior to all these false notions, after making allowance for whatever modicum of truth each contains in its ineffective protest against the other. Not for nations any more than for individuals is the ideal either a dull dead-level uniformity or an egotism sacrificing everything to its own ambitions and acknowledging no moral restraint.

During the greater part of history the claims of nationalism were ignored in the pursuit of other political ends, and attempts at suppression often met with success. But at the present time any such policy seems destined to encounter great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. In such circumstances it may be not only sound policy but even a duty for those who hold another nation in subjection to liberate it, since there are other duties besides those in strict justice, and since prudence itself is a virtue.

Making allowances for the very obvious differences, it is with the nation as with the individual; once the age of maturity has been reached, if freedom does not exist we expect to see reasons shown to explain its absence. The nation expresses its own life, the life it has as a community of individuals, in the continuity of its common interests, memories, and aspirations. Why should it not do this or desire to do it through the medium of statehood?

Once we admit nationalism as a factor in human progress and its usefulness in human government, the question whether, apart from political independence, there can be any real security for its proper play becomes important. Can a subject nation hope, in modern conditions, to preserve for long its national individuality? Without self-government is there any likelihood that it will save

its national integrity, that it will not be forced to deny itself—partially or completely ? Can a dominant nation claim with justice to suppress by force the self-expression of another ? I think there is much to be said for answering all these questions in the manner advocated by those who defend the principle of nationalities, especially when we remember that the state is no longer merely a policeman, but by its multifarious activities penetrates into and profoundly affects the life of the nation. It is true that there are other utilities besides those of nationalism. The measure of independence essential to self-expression is a problem that requires careful consideration, as also the extent to which the right of national self-expression may be limited by actual relations and obligations to other nations. These are matters that cannot be settled off-hand by any *a priori* principle. Each particular case must be examined in detail.

A government is bound to rule in the interests of its subjects. If we accept this as a general principle, the question then is whether and how far the principle of self-determination is to be subsumed under it. I do not think that an absolute answer can be given—*i.e.*, one which shall apply to all times. There is much to be said in favour of a *general* affirmative answer in the prevailing conditions of this age. Whether a hundred years ago or a hundred years hence such a subsumption was or will be *equally* warrantable is a different matter. But even were we to adopt the affirmative answer as applying only to present-day conditions and to conditions essentially similar, it would still be necessary to introduce some saving clauses before application could be made to the particular case.

On the other hand, in considering the question of " intolerable oppression," we must remember that a people may be hurt in interests other than purely material, and that there are occasions when, among the spiritual needs most clamant for satisfaction, must be reckoned

this one of nationality and its political aspirations. Governments are bound to consider whether, in an obstinate refusal to satisfy a national demand, they are not running counter to the settled and passionate desire of a whole people, and thus ruling in direct opposition to its interests. To the objection that this may be but a passing need, confined to a few generations or even a few centuries, I answer that this does not make it less a serious need, the satisfaction of which may be a duty. Different ages have different spiritual needs in the concrete, and the fact that this is of the present does not make it less worthy, but from our point of view more actual. However much one may desire the contrary, it is neither justice nor sound policy to act as if the spiritual needs of different times could be forced into the same procustean bed.

Unfortunately, for many small nations the practical alternative to independence is not citizenship of a world-state, for which they are often asked to drop their so-called "parochialism," but subjection to, and absorption in, another nation. And this might be borne with a little more equanimity—though slavish imitation of another's personality is not a high ideal—if "survival" were any test of greater cultural or ethical fitness. The victorious and in this sense the "greater" nation may have the more parochial outlook, and absorption in it may mean for the small nation the erection of a barrier against the main current of European civilisation.

So far I have been considering the question from the standpoint of the natural law. But there is also something analogous to positive law that may be quoted in favour of at least that acceptance of the principle of nationality urged here. In other words, how far can the supporters of nationality claim the force of international law for the world-undertakings given in the course of the late war, for those promises which played an important part in bringing the war to a close? Whether it was prudent thus to have incited the people to the assertion

of this principle and to a passionate belief in it is a matter with which we are not now called on to deal. The incitement was there and the proclamations are there, and against those who issued them they may well claim the force of something analogous to international law.

The principle of self-determination in its modern acceptation means that in determining political allegiance the people shall decide, and that for the purpose of this decision the nation shall be the unit. The nation need not of course coincide with any already existing state, and it may be at times difficult to fix its limits; but this, as it does not affect the principle under discussion, need not detain us here. Those who push the principle to extremes are faced by the fact that on the continent of Europe natural, political, historical, and national frontiers do not coincide. But the question of isolated groups or the still more vexed question of frontiers cannot be discussed here. Each particular case must be examined for itself; there is no royal road in the shape of an *a priori* principle to spare us the trouble of detailed examination. Many factors must be taken into consideration, and of these nationality is one—and, with what it involves, the most important at the present day. But there is, for instance, the right that a state may have to territorial integrity, even if it be granted that this right does not extend to the people. As a particular case of this take, by way of illustration, the position of a country into whose territory people of a different nationality have come. Is such a land, without further discussion, to have its ancient unity broken up, if these immigrants happen to have a majority in a particular district and vote for exclusion?

This question of territory will perhaps help to remind us that, in this whole problem, considerations of justice are involved; and justice is not a respecter of nations or states any more than of individuals. States and nations are not self-contained; they must enter into relations

with other states, and these relations and the obligations resting on them are subject to the natural law, to divine law, and to positive international law. However much modern worship of the unlimited powers of the state may obscure the fact, there are moral limits to those powers. Established rights are not lightly to be set aside. A glance at the map of Eastern Europe might suggest to us that, apart altogether from the demands of abstract justice, there is a distinct danger lest a doctrinaire use of this principle of self-determination should militate against the end for which in recent years such strong appeals have been made to it—*i.e.*, the peace and the welfare of the world.

My argument is that, in modern conditions and with reference to national groups of some size, the principle of self-determination is a subsidiary principle within the domain of justice. That being so, it should not violate justice. Due consideration must be given to the arguments that can be brought forward against its full application in any particular case. How far these arguments shall be allowed to prevail, if at all, must be determined by detailed examination of all the relevant factors. The principle of self-determination is not an absolute first principle of ethics. We cannot, by invoking it, reject the possibility of one nation being legitimately subject to another. If, for instance, a nation be aggressively unjust, it may in certain circumstances be brought into subjection and kept in subjection, until the danger of aggression has passed or until the opposition of its members has reduced alien government to a nullity.

It is obviously difficult to apply these ideas to the circumstances of the individual cases, and very often it is the circumstances that render the application beneficial or noxious to mankind. In regard to the conduct of individuals and the moral relations between individuals, we have not only our ethical first principles and the secondary laws immediately deduced from them, but

to aid us in the application of the general rules to the particular cases we have the stored-up experience of the community, much of which is expressed in the form of positive laws. But in the case of the relations between nations these helps are unfortunately to a great extent absent. What is wanted is something thought out in pretty considerable detail and applied to modern conditions, ideas and aspirations, and an authority whose judgment in the particular case will be respected.

In this whole problem what I think we should be specially on our guard against is the tendency to elevate to the rank of ethical axioms what are excellent working empirical principles, born in a certain environment and fully suited only to that environment. If, for instance, the question assumes the form: Does nationality alone and by itself, at all times and at all stages of civilisation, confer an absolute and indefeasible right to full sovereignty? the answer must be "No." To make a principle of this kind absolute, so that it shall hold for all times and for all peoples, civilised and uncivilised, primitive and modern, is unjustifiable. Neither nationalism nor the principle of self-determination is an end in itself. They can be justified as some of the most effective means yet devised to preserve and develop a certain phase of a certain type of civilisation—not every civilisation, but that particular type which is generally described as European. If this be so, two consequences would seem to follow. First, the interests of that civilisation may legitimately impose limitations on the scope of this principle. Secondly, as this principle has been vindicated only with reference to our civilisation, it is, as it were, only by analogy that it can be applied outside the frontiers of that civilisation.

After all, this only accords with what I may call Christian common sense. Their religion is one of the important factors that go to make up the nationality of many a savage people. To convert them to Christianity

is seriously to modify their particular brand of national life. This example shows that we cannot regard every brand of nationalism as so sacrosanct that no effort, even a peaceful effort, should be made to change it. And if in the process of losing their paganism they assume a new distinctive nationality, does this of itself for ever guarantee a right to full sovereignty? Such peoples have rights that must be respected. But from the moral point of view they are on more secure grounds if they rely on the general principles of justice, which apply to them, not as nations, but as political organised groups.

There are certain primary self-evident moral laws; there are secondary laws that can be deduced from these by the process of simple deduction. In addition there are a number of principles that are neither self-evident nor connected by a rigid process of deduction with the self-evident laws. Judgment, experience, prudence, an intimate acquaintance with concrete circumstances are necessary to formulate them and appreciate their value and scope. The principle of self-determination belongs to this last-mentioned class, and in so far as it can be subsumed under justice in this way it is binding.

The solution of grave concrete problems as if there were but one consideration to be taken into account, as if there were not a number of general principles of more or less equal standing, under some or all of which these cases must be brought, seems to be but another instance of that peculiar feature of modern thought—its one-sidedness, its tendency to envisage everything from one particular standpoint, to interpret and solve every problem in the light of one idea.

What I have been suggesting in this paper is a certain recognition of the principle of national self-determination as an empirical working principle—as imposing obligations in the conditions of to-day, but not as an absolute first principle independent of time and circumstance. To make the concession of independence a duty on the part

of the ruler and, on the part of the subject nation, to justify the appeal to force in order to achieve independence, something in addition to the mere possession of a distinct nationality is required. It may be argued, indeed, that the politico-juridic consequences flow not so much from the cultural concept of nationality as from the political features which nations share with groups that may not be nations. In and by itself distinct nationality is a presumption—in certain circumstances a strong, even a compelling presumption—in favour of sovereignty. It is one, but only one, of the factors that give rise to this presumption.

But if nationality alone does not in itself confer the right to independence, the sequelæ of nationality often do—for instance, the impossibility of peace in certain circumstances, when a subject people chafes under the oppression and exploitation of an alien government. A subjection that was moral in one generation may cease to be so in the next; for in this, as in the application of the principle of self-determination, the circumstances play a most important role. A relation between nations that in one century was in accord with the rules of justice may, by altered conditions, by the change of ideas, by the birth of new spiritual needs and new expectations, turn to injustice in another.

Nationalism and the principle of self-determination represent an important phase in the development of modern European civilisation, and there seems to be no reason why the Church, which has done so much for that civilisation, should not be able to reconcile the moderate expression of these principles with her laws. It will be necessary to delimit them, to eschew all exaggerations, to avoid those extreme formulations that turn a sound principle into a heresy. It may be necessary to depaganise some manifestations of nationalism; but there is no reason to believe that the marvellous assimilative powers of the Church, shown in connection with more dangerous material, have grown old.

J. M. O'Sullivan.

CHRONICLE

Dr. Walter McDonald and his Reminiscences

BY PETER FINLAY, S.J.

REMINISCENCES OF A MAYNOOTH PROFESSOR. By Walter McDonald, D.D. London: Jonathan Cape. 1925. 18s. net.

DR. MCDONALD'S best friends, who knew him personally and have held his memory in affectionate esteem, will regret the publication of these Reminiscences. The regret will be shared by a wider circle, who only knew of him as a professor in the great college of Maynooth, a Catholic priest of considerable intellectual attainments and of edifying priestly life. He was known, indeed, to entertain some rather singular opinions in philosophy and theology, which had been censured by the Irish Bishops and condemned in Rome; but he had retained his position in Maynooth, and when he died there in May, 1920, he was accompanied to the grave in the college cemetery, with every mark of respect and of heartfelt sympathy, by all his colleagues, by the whole body of the students, and by a large gathering of clergy from all parts of Ireland. To many of those who were present the "Reminiscences" will be a keen disappointment.

It may be doubted if the book could have been made really interesting for any but a very narrow circle of readers. The life of a professor in an ecclesiastical college is busied primarily with matters which make little appeal to the outside world, and which are generally trivial in themselves. He may of course engage in literary work, in politics, in social movements; and so come into contact with men and things that are of a more public nature and awaken a wider curiosity. But Dr. McDonald confined himself almost wholly to his college duties and to studies which bore upon them. His Reminiscences make little mention of any happenings unconnected with Maynooth.

And it is in his treatment of Maynooth itself and of its domestic history, during the forty-five years he spent there, that Dr. McDonald's friends will find most serious cause of disappointment. Maynooth had given him freely of its best—education, honours, income, friends. We should have expected him to be seriously prejudiced in its favour, perhaps to exaggerate the good which he had noted in it; certainly, to minimise any shortcomings or defects.

We should have anticipated kindly recollections of colleagues with whom he lived for years on terms of courtesy and sympathy and almost brotherly intimacy. If they had failings, we should think it likely he would deal gently with them or even pass them over. Such is not the case. Maynooth is of course often spoken of—its organisation, discipline, studies—but with scarcely ever a word of praise. Professors and Superiors are frequently mentioned and commented on—almost always to disparage them. To some at any rate of those who thought they knew Dr. McDonald well, who saw him during the last months of his illness, when he was penning the later chapters of his book, and to whom he appeared to speak with perfect frankness, this revelation of himself will come as a surprise. If it were contained in a few isolated passages, the "higher critics" might be tempted to suggest a faulty manuscript or interpolations by another hand; but the temper of the book is the same throughout: it is one long, persistent, bill of indictment and condemnation.

This mental attitude was apparently due, in Dr. McDonald, to the opinion which he had formed of his own abilities and of the mission which Providence had entrusted to him. He seems, if we are to judge from the "Reminiscences," to have rated himself as intellectually superior to all those with whom Maynooth brought him into contact; and he seems to have believed honestly that he had a mission to reform Maynooth and the whole Irish Catholic Church. A few quotations will best illustrate this attitude:—

> I feel that the question involved in my book on Motion needed discussion, that it never got it, that it has not got it yet, and that not one bishop in Ireland, and perhaps not two philosophers or theologians, understand the question fairly even now . . . . I hoped—and the hope has grown with me—that the day may come, perhaps long after I have passed away, when Maynooth College will be proud to claim the author of *Motion* as one of her professors (pp. 127, 132).

Of the Propaganda judgment on the twenty-six theses which he submitted for examination in 1899, he says:—

> I note that the document which I received was drawn up by some secretary or *minutante*, who had before him the reports of the two consultors, from which he copied in the main. When I examined the animadversions, I had little respect for either his or their philosophical or theological attainments . . . . I knew that, whereas the injunctions came from the S. Congregations, the opinions on which they were based were those of two—or four—minor theologians, for whose attainments, as revealed by these Propaganda animadversions, I did not—and do not—feel bound to entertain much respect . . . . Their authority had little or no effect on my convictions, which would be the same even though the whole Schola was unanimous against me (pp. 147-8).

Maynooth, he thought, stood sorely in need of reformation :—

There must have been something very wrong with the way in which we were taught philosophy, seeing that it failed so utterly to interest one like me . . . . It was not all my fault, but was due in part—perhaps even in great part—to the system and the professor. If I had had a decently good book in my hands, it might have been different, or if the professor had been able to handle the subject in an able, manly spirit (p. 43).

During this second year of our Philosophy course we began to hear lectures on Ecclesiastical History . . . . Of these lectures I do not really like to speak—they were so poor ; we had no text-books, the most of us ; and we learned little or nothing . . . . I know that it would have been very easy at the time to awaken in me a deep interest in the subject ; but Dr. Gargan succeeded in stifling whatever might have been awakened otherwise (p. 47).

Such quotations might be multiplied almost indefinitely. But it is by Dr. McDonald's criticism of individual professors that the animus of his book and the credibility of many of the statements in it may most readily be judged. The criticism is so uniformly unfavourable, and expressed frequently in language so discourteous, that most editors would probably have substituted asterisks for names or, through regard for Dr. McDonald's memory, would have omitted many of the passages altogether. But it may have been thought that Dr. McDonald himself was the sole fitting judge of what was seemly in his published appreciation of his teachers and of his colleagues, and that the gentlemen of whom he writes so slightingly are not likely to suffer in reputation from the sentence which he passes on them. I shall quote only appreciations of the dead :—

Dr. Whitehead was medium-sized, somewhat hawk-featured, and very artificial, as you saw at once from his stilted speech and high-pitched voice . . . . Rumour had it among us students that he was disappointed when, in 1857, Dr. Russell was made President over his head . . . . He made no will ; lest, as the malicious said, he should in decency have to leave some bequest to the college (p. 33).

Take Dr. Walsh's book *De Actibus Humanis*, Dr. Murray's treatise *De Gratia*, Mr. Crolly's three volumes *De Jure et Justitia*—all deeply rooted in philosophy—and you will see at once that, while there is a sufficient parade of opinions about this or that, there is little or no grip of fundamental principles (p. 44).

Dr. Owens was appointed professor of theology without concursus, and whatever one might think of him . . . . one who knew his capacity as a theologian could not but regard his appointment to the chair of theology as a job (p. 96).

Murray was clear ; but then he did not go very deep, and when he tried to do so was hardly impressive . . . . He was a bigot, if there ever was one ; and this trait in his character, I fancy, unfitted him to be a really great theologian, as he had not sufficient sympathy with error to realise an adversary's position (p. 55).

No one loved a lord more than Farrelly ; and if he could not get a lord to fawn on, he fawned on any of the gentry whom he met—even in print (p. 82).

These extracts are quoted—and many more of a similar kind

might be quoted—as they stand in Dr. McDonald's book; they give us a surprising picture of the writer. They are not likely to affect the reputation of the living or of the dead; while they will enable readers of the "Reminiscences" to estimate correctly the accuracy and importance of the many strange statements which the book contains.

Maynooth College, a national institution, is governed by the Irish Bishops, ordinarily through a Standing Committee or the Board of Trustees. Dr. McDonald was thus brought into contact, not always harmonious, with the Bishops; and his criticism of them is as outspoken and unsparing as anything in his criticism of Maynooth. One or two extracts will be sufficient:—

> This I think was the first occasion on which I knew—or felt—that an act so solemn as that of the Episcopal Body could be drawn up on false pretences . . . . I could not restrain a suspicion that, though the Bishops claimed to speak merely in the interest of morality, this was not their only, not even their strongest, motive. It was convenient for them to say so, as their pronouncement was thereby raised above hostile criticism (pp. 94, 171).

He quotes, with apparent approval, Dr. O'Hickey's published attack on the Senate opponents of compulsory Irish, "five of whom are distinguished Catholic ecclesiastics, two of the five being Bishops":—

> They were "a worthless faction"; their policy was "a dastard and foolish" one, a "squalid and foolish apostasy." "My Lords and Gentlemen must be told . . . . that, wily as they are, they will not be suffered to cozen and delude the Irish people." "A black list of the recreant Nationalist Senators must be preserved, that in after times all men may know who were the false and vile" (p. 376).

But indeed Maynooth and the Irish Bishops are not the only objects of Dr. McDonald's criticism and censure. Whoever opposed his views, either speculative or practical, whoever refused to take sides with him in any of his controversies, is treated as ignorant or malevolent. Speaking of the advantages and disadvantages of Latin as a school language, he writes:—

> I hear this said constantly by men who are unable to read with intelligence an article of the Summa or a chapter in De Lugo. You would think, to hear this kind of talk, that the average priest now reads Latin freely; whereas the fact is that he is unable to read Lehmkuhl, and that to read even Gury is unpleasant and uncertain work (p. 185).

He speaks of the Roman Consultors who criticised his twenty-six propositions as "ignorant or careless," and again as "a couple of third-rate theologians." When the Rota dismissed Dr. O'Hickey's appeal, he writes:—

> I regret to have to say that I regard the Auditors of the Rota as having judged—or not having judged—this case on prejudice, not on evidence, and that they have

by the decrees which they issued in connection with it, confirmed what those who distrusted the Holy See often told us—that it is but a fool who would take action in any Roman Court against the body of the Bishops in any country. I did not, and would not, believe it of the Roman Rota; now I am convinced of my simplicity (p. 274).

These extracts, and the many others of a like nature which might be taken from almost every chapter of Dr. McDonald's book, call for no comment. They set before us one side of the author's character, in the later years of his life, and by their very vehemence, partiality, and exaggeration suggest doubts as to his full responsibility for much that seems uncatholic and unpriestly in his opinions and conduct. He had unbounded confidence in his own powers—a confidence strengthened by his appointment to a professorship in St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, at the age of 22, his appointment to a Chair in Maynooth at the age of 27, and his becoming Prefect of the Dunboyne some seven years later. If we accept his own account in the "Reminiscences," he was almost entirely self-educated, and his early education was quite unusually defective: it was only in 1884, he tells us, at the age of 30, that he was introduced by the late Archbishop Walsh to the works of Mr. St. George Mivart, and learned from him that "all Metaphysics, including Psychology and Natural Theology, is based on Physics—understanding thereby, not only Physics proper, but Chemistry, Astronomy, Biology, in all its branches: in one word, what is now called Natural Science." He read widely, and seems to have been fascinated by the assumed infallibility with which anti-Catholic and rationalistic writers set out their views, while he was unable, through his own want of knowledge and of intellectual formation, to control their statements or their reasoning. By nature, he appears to have been critical of authority and of commonly received opinions; and he resented any interference with his liberty by ecclesiastical superiors. As is frequently the case with self-educated men, he found it difficult to enter into an opponent's position: he might change an opinion—he did once: in the cattle-driving controversy—but the change should be wholly of his own making, not due to an adversary's arguments. He would appear never to have realised his own limitations, or the value of a consensus among Catholic thinkers and teachers, or the respect owing to the Church's ordinary magisterium and divinely appointed rulers.

This is especially evident in the accounts which he gives us of the condemnation of his book on Motion, and of the dismissal of Dr. O'Hickey from the professorship of Irish in Maynooth. Neither incident is of present interest; of both we have, as might be expected, a wholly one-sided account; and in both, on Dr.

McDonald's own showing, the Irish Bishops and the Holy See acted with singular kindliness and forbearance. We only wonder how they brought themselves to allow of Dr. McDonald's continuance as professor in Maynooth, and how they strove, first to avoid, and then to soften the measures they were compelled to take in the case of Dr. O'Hickey. But both events, and Dr. McDonald's history of them, make plain those peculiarities of his character, natural and acquired, to which attention has been drawn, and which explain a good deal in his life and writings.

They may also help to explain, and may bring some comfort to his friends when they read, his profession of religious belief set down in various places, particularly in chapters 9 and 27, of the Reminiscences. In the former he writes :—

I perceived that good part of our traditional theology depends for its truth on natural science. And as the Natural Science of the School, from which it derives, was in many parts quite different from and opposed to what are now the received conclusions of the same science, I saw that theologians—myself among them—have got to choose between some of the conclusions of modern physical science and equal number of those of speculative theology . . . . And as I was resolved to stick to truth, wherever it led ; while, with God's help, I have remained a sincere and loyal Catholic ; I managed to get over any difficulties that arose, partly by satisfying myself that the conclusions of physical science, in so far as they are opposed to any definite Church teaching, are not such as commend themselves to a prudent man ; and, in other part, on the ground that when such conclusions cannot be rejected in prudence, even though they seem opposed to traditional or even official Church teaching, the teaching in question may be regarded as non-definitive, and may, in such circumstances, be rejected without disloyalty to the Church (p. 104).

It was only after much trial and by God's great mercy, I did not altogether renounce the Faith ; as I fear I should have done ultimately, had I not at length satisfied myself of the truth—or the tenability of more liberal principles than those in which I was brought up. If these new principles were published, perhaps I should suffer more for them than I have had to suffer for my rejection of some of the conclusions of theological science (p. 105).

This would seem to have been written in reference to his earlier years as Prefect of the Dunboyne. That he was then "a sincere Catholic," honestly persuaded that whenever the conclusions of physical science cannot prudently be rejected, "though they seem opposed to traditional or even official Church teaching," the Church teaching may be declared by an individual Catholic to be non-definitive and may consequently be set aside, we would not willingly call in doubt ; though the position is difficult to reconcile with well-informed Catholic sincerity or loyalty. But what is to be thought of his religious beliefs towards the close of life, if what he writes in Chapter 27 be accepted literally ?

To me still, the Bible is God's word—the whole Bible ; but I find therein no little of the human element, serving as crust or chrysalis to the word. How I reconcile

things is largely my own discovery, set forth imperfectly in a paper on Inspiration in my unprinted volume of *Essays on Religion and the Church*. In other parts of the same book I meet difficulties arising from official teaching, some of which, though enforced by anathema, honest minds may not be able to accept in the days that are coming . . . . Comfortable Bishops, Cardinals, Consultors and such—who became what they are because they never had a difficulty—will not see the danger coming. . . . Was St. Paul right in his outlook on the pagan world of Greece and Rome ? Were these poor idolators as inexcusable as he represents them ? . . . . Are we bound to the arguments for the extistence of God set forth in the Book of Wisdom or by St. Paul ? . . . . Were Sacraments of the dead instituted and administered for the remission of guilt, or only for that of punishment, and for the giving of graces to lead a purer life in future ? . . . . When trouble arises, as it will, over certain Church definitions with anathema attached, the standard and great test case, I fancy, is likely to be the decree of the Council of Vienne as to the human soul being substantial form of the body. That the Council taught it to be so in some sense I take as evident from the words of the decree ; as also that the definition is one of supreme authority, claiming infallibility. Is it infallible ? Is it even true ? . . . . On these and many such questions I have found peace at length on lines no little divergent from the tradition.

Can a Catholic hold such views and remain a Catholic, unless under some strange mental hallucination ?

In a Preface the editor tells us that Dr. McDonald left him "a full discretion, in editing the Memoirs, to omit any passage referring to living persons, or to make whatever alterations were necessary to ensure publication." Very many readers will be of opinion that the discretion should have been availed of much more largely, with much greater consideration for the feelings of the living and for the memories of the dead. Though no one is likely to suffer by the publication of the book in its present form except Dr. McDonald himself.

P. Finlay.

REVIEWS

Anatomy

THE EVOLUTION OF ANATOMY. By Charles Singer, M.A., M.D., D.Litt., F.S.A., Lecturer in the History of Medicine at University College, London. With 20 plates, and 117 illustrations in the text. London: Kegan Paul. 1925. 12s. 6d. net.

THE students at University College, London, are singularly fortunate in three respects: the Chair of Anatomy there has been held by a succession of distinguished and cultured scientists, each of whom has been strongly imbued with a sense of the value of medical teaching from the evolutionary standpoint; they have, thanks to American munificence, the most elaborate and complete Anatomical Institute in these countries; and they have housed therein a very fine collection of old anatomical books, William Sharpey's own copies of Vesalius, of Fallopius, of Columbus, of Spigelius and others, bequeathed by him on his death to the College to whose Chair he brought direct the true Vesalian tradition, when first appointed, a student fresh from Padua.

London and Edinburgh were the first to recognise the claims of the History of Medicine to a separate endowment, and in this short history of anatomical discovery, the erudite author of *Studies in the History and Methods of Science* has given us within compassable limits a bird's eye view of the development of the discipline of Anatomy from primitive times to Harvey's epoch-making discovery of the circulation of the blood. Taking as his *leit-motif* the Vesalian motto, *Vivitur ingenio*, Professor Singer ably demonstrates the continuity of anatomical discovery down the ages.

Like that of every other department of rational investigation, our anatomical tradition goes back to the Greeks. Combined with a great appreciation of physical beauty, the Athenian mind was chiefly concerned with the determination of man's place in the universe. "Of all strong things," sang the chorus in *Antigone*, "none is more wonderfully strong than man." The Platonic conception of Macrocosm and Microcosm exerted a wholly unfavourable influence on the practical study of anatomy during this early period of Athens' intellectual supremacy. Aristotle himself, the founder of Comparative Anatomy, never dissected the human body; but, with his first outlining of the "Ladder of Nature," he laid the foundations of modern biology, as, with his unceasing enquiries into the nature of generation, he was the first of the embryologists. For the next two thousand years, Aristotelian

philosophy was the main intellectual pabulum of scientists. How profoundly Aristotle's conception of man's place in the universe affected later anatomical thought is clearly sketched by Dr. Singer.

In the Roman Imperium, which rose on the ruins of Grecian civilisation, a hard utilitarianism replaced the spirit of philosophic enquiry. Dr. Singer draws an interesting moral from the contrast of the two civilisations. The cry for what is "useful," as against "theoretical," knowledge still echoes down the ages; but "when and where that cry swells into a chorus, then and there Science dies." In the Rome of Marcus Aurelius, Galen, a Greek from Pergamos, was the outstanding scientific personality. His philosophical position was midway between Stoicism and Christianity. With his death, Anatomy "descended into a darkness of a thousand years."

The revival of anatomical dissections was of medico-legal origin, in Bologna of the thirteenth century, a city of jurists. But, as philosophical speculation had largely directed the efforts of the Greek investigators, it was the simultaneous appearance of the Naturalists and Humanists of the early Renaissance which directed the lines of investigation for the Italian anatomists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The great naturalistic movement in art personified by such men as Verrochio, Mantegna, and Leonardo, combined with the improved access to Greek sources that came with the revival of learning, culminated in the appearance at Padua of the great Reformer of Anatomy, Vesalius. On the work of this one man is based the whole superstructure of modern anatomy.

For Vesalius the human body was a living fabric, a piece of workmanship by the Great Craftsman. Of his treble equipment—as artist, humanist, and naturalist—for the "business to which he put his hand," Dr. Singer writes delightfully, as he does of his great rival, Eustachius, and of his pupils and successors at Padua, Columbus, Fallopius, and Fabricius, with whom Harvey made the first observations which were to lead him to the greatest of anatomical discoveries, whereby the whole scientific outlook on the human body was transformed.

In the period under discussion there has been no necessity to differentiate between anatomy and physiology: the volume closes fitly with Harvey. The later necessary separation of these subjects into separate watertight compartments, Dr. Singer, as a good Paduan, rightly deplores. But so long as University College, London, can place in her Chairs men of the mettle of Sharpey, Thane, and Elliott Smith, we can rest assured that the spirit of the Paduan tradition will be honourably preserved. WM. DOOLIN.

Art

SANDRO BOTTICELLI. By Wilhelm Bode. London: Methuen. 1925. 32s. 6d. net.

THE length and splendour of Dr. Bode's services to scholarship insure respectful consideration for all he has to say about painting and painters. Yet his book on Botticelli can add nothing to his deservedly great reputation; and might easily have done injury to the reputation of a lesser man. It is formless in composition and highly disputable in many of its most positive conclusions. Though it will be read with interest by all serious students of Botticelli's life and works, few of them are likely to find in it satisfaction or substantial profit.

It consists of nine chapters, dealing with the painter's ancestry, teachers, environment, personality and output; and is illustrated by ninety-eight indifferently done half-tone reproductions from paintings, prints, medals and drawings. These illustrations are not arranged chronologically, nor in relation to the order in which they are referred to in the text, nor do the numbers which they bear correspond to the numbers attributed to them in the index. Consequently, it is a matter of no little difficulty to use them to proper purpose. Botticelli is generally credited with the authorship of about sixty pictures and thirty drawings. Dr. Bode omits to illustrate a great many of these. Among those which will be particularly missed are the predella pieces, Saints John the Evangelist, Augustine, Jerome and Eloisius from the St. Marco Madonna; the Pieta, the Vision of Saint Augustine, the Saints Ignatius and John the Baptist from the predella of the Saint Barnaba Madonna; and, strangest omission of all, the "Miracle of Saint Zenobius" from the Dresden Gallery, a companion to the two other pictures of the saint which have lately been hung in the National Gallery of London as part of the Mond bequest, and are included among the pictures reproduced.

More puzzling than some of Dr. Bode's omissions are some of the illustrations which he furnishes. A flat and insipid profile of Dante is described as the "Portrait of Dante, London, Langton Douglas." I do not remember to have seen any previous reproduction of this curious picture: nor is it, I think, mentioned in the list of pictures attributed to Botticelli in any previous book on the subject recognised as authoritative. It seems to me to be utterly remote from the painter's work. Dr. Bode's index contains no reference to it: so I, in common no doubt with many others, remain in the dark about the reasons for its inclusion.

As might be expected, Dr. Bode puts up a vigorous case for the admission, as genuine works by Botticelli, of many disputed pictures in German collections. His forceful arguments are seldom compelling. The weight of educated opinion will probably still incline strongly against the view that the Simonetta pictures in the Kappel collection and the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum are "quite characteristic works from Sandro's own hand."

From an archivist usually so accurate as the Doctor the statement that "'Pallas with the Centaur' has only lately come to light again in the Pitti palace" is nothing less than astounding. It was discovered thirty years ago by Mr. William Spence. This picture is considered by Dr. Bode to have been painted about the year 1486; but he gives no valid reasons for upsetting the usual opinion that it was painted early in the year 1480. Every detail of the elaborate allegory it presents indicates that it was designed to celebrate the triumphant return of Lorenzo the Magnificent from his diplomatic visit to the King of Naples.

Mr. Berenson's famous creation "Amico di Sandro" comes in for some justifiably severe handling from Dr. Bode. He has not had, however, the satisfaction of demolishing that interesting changeling; for, before the appearance of his book, the misbegotten character was discreetly slain and buried by Mr. Berenson himself.

The volume is well printed and handsomely bound by Messrs. Metheun in the estimable format of their "Classics of Art" series. The translators are not entitled to much credit, for theirs is a crabbed and ungainly English style. Sentences such as: "Beside these artists, and at the present day even higher than they, ranks their contemporary and fellow-worker Botticelli" may be justified to some extent by the original text; but they bar from the company of the classics any book in which they appear.

THOMAS BODKIN.

ITALIAN LANDSCAPE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. By Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, PH.D. London: Milford. 1925. 14s. net.

IN her preface Miss Manwaring explains that, "in its original form, this study was presented to the English Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy." The reader who studies it for its philosophical content will be grievously disappointed. It can only be described as a sedulous compilation of allusions in English literature which

illustrate a connection between Italian landscape painting and English taste. The author has spread her net wide, but seemingly disdains to exercise discrimination on her catch. Neither does she trouble over much about its arrangement. The nine chapters into which the book is divided do not represent a sequent argument nor point to definite conclusions. They are not even logical divisions of an anthology: and it is as an anthology—one of considerable interest—that the book as a whole were best regarded.

Miss Manwaring deprecates the ignorance of the eighteenth century English in matters of art, "their tendency to judge pictures by literature or by names." Unfortunately she herself suffers from a similar tendency. The scholar of painting must suspect her of a fundamental ignorance of the subject when he finds that one of the illustrations by which she has chosen to represent the work of Salvator is taken from a picture eminently characteristic of Marco Ricci and never, to my knowledge, attributed before to anyone else. It was, I believe, once in the collection of Dr. Giovanni Vianelli and has been for twenty years in the Neue Ministerial-gebaude in Dresden.

Among the twenty-four other illustrations given, only one is reproduced directly from a photograph of the original. The rest are all done from prints. As a result the reproductions intended to convey a just idea of the paintings of Claude and Salvator are merely translations of translations. Moreover, the illustrations are badly selected. Some of them have little or no bearing on the text, and might well have been omitted in favour of really representative reproductions from the works of the painters principally considered: such, for instance, as Sir George Beaumont's famous "Claudes," so frequently referred to in the annals of English art, which have had an enormous influence, persisting to the present day, on the development of English painting; or as the equally celebrated "Rosas" in the collections of the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Warwick.

The painters, apart from Rosa and Claude, whom Miss Manwaring selects for criticism or allusion are often men of the meanest achievements. Philip Boul, to name only one, does not even appear in such comprehensive works of reference as those by Bénezit, Bryan, Errera, Waagen or Seguier. I cannot trace a single authenticated painting or drawing of his as being at present in existence. He might well have been allowed to rest in deserved oblivion. What, then, can be thought of Miss Manwaring's neglect to make the slightest mention of Magnasco, Marco Ricci, Pannini, Piranesi or Clerisseau, who all assisted prominently in popularising

the traditions of Italian landscape among the English, and two of whom actually worked in England for long periods?

Among the many other questions suggested by this book two trouble me particularly. I would gladly have Miss Manwaring's authority for her statement that "the introduction of the generally Gothic ruins seems alien to Italian landscape, but the hint of mingling classic and mediaeval came from Claude." I would like also to know why she fixes 1640 as "the very year which marked the beginning of popularity for both Claude and Salvator." In that year Salvator was only twenty-five years of age, and his reputation was purely local and principally as an actor and improvisatore in the Roman Carnival. Claude was then forty years of age, had long since produced many of his best pictures and had became the famous protégé of Urban VIII. and the Cardinal Bentivoglio. Thomas Bodkin.

Biography

FATHER WILLIAM DOYLE, S.J. A Spiritual Study. By Professor O'Rahilly. New edition, revised and enlarged. With twenty-nine Illustrations. London: Longmans. 1925. pp. xxiii.+575. 15s. net.

It is nearly two years since the fourth large impression of this work (which first appeared in 1920) was exhausted. The demand for it on both sides of the Atlantic showed no signs of flagging; but the author felt it was time to issue a definitive edition, and the public has had to wait while the book was being recast, expanded, and in great part rewritten. The result was well worth waiting for; we have now not only a more vivid and complete picture of Father Doyle as his friends knew him and as his notes reveal him, and a fuller record of his war service, but also a remarkably profound and searching study of Jesuit spiritual traditions. Professor O'Rahilly has made excellent use in this connection of the vast *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, which have opened to students the archives of the early Society.

Anyone interested in the spiritual life would welcome this study of it for its own sake. But it is not just for its own sake that it has been inserted here. It is meant to answer, and I believe it does answer with much success, the questions that have risen spontaneously to the lips of readers and have run down the pens of reviewers of the earlier editions of the life.

The very insistence with which these questions were put was in itself a tribute to the fascination of Willie Doyle. There are strange things in his life; but strange things are not uncommon in the

biographies of holy people, and the reader of them generally wonders for a moment and passes on. Not so in this case: people found Father Doyle so human, so close to themselves, and yet so radiant with the grace of God (I am not giving my own opinion: you have only to read, in the Introduction to the present edition, the views of Anglicans, Methodists, and Unitarians, as well as of Catholics) that they must have the strange things explained, or at any rate discussed. And the discussion, which occupies the greater part of four chapters, is perhaps the best thing in the book, and one of the best things of its kind in Catholic literature.

Some of the things that were expected to shock the world, such as the extravagant austerities, were on the contrary quite respectfully and even reverently received in the most unlikely quarters. Which shows, perhaps, that in talking to the world about God it is not only worthier but even more popular to speak in God's language than in the world's

Other things in the Life can be understood but not explained. For instance: Father Doyle was a Jesuit; for him, therefore, obedience to rule and to superiors should come before any other devotional or ascetic practice. But had he permission to slip out into the grounds at Rathfarnham in his night attire in the small hours of a winter night, and stand up to his neck in a freezing pond, praying for sinners? It is almost certain that he had not; any more than St. Paschal Baylon, Franciscan lay-brother, had leave to give away the community dinner to the poor and then to dig up the vegetables in the garden and give them away also. By the letter of the law both were notably in fault. But the Church which canonised one will perhaps be lenient to the other.

In chapter VII. ("The Mystic") Professor O'Rahilly discusses the question, which has exercised many minds, of how far the term "mystical" is applicable to the spiritual life of Father Doyle. At first sight, the dominance in his life of intense and repeated effort, of what Père de Grandmaison in a very remarkable article on Father Doyle called the "active, militant, and multiple element," seems to preclude the simple unity of the mystic life. He adopts as his solution what is equivalently the distinction put forward by M. Jacques Maritain between contemplative prayer, the fruit of the Gift of Wisdom, and the mystic life. By this latter term is meant a life ruled by the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, even though in it the active gifts (such as Fortitude and Piety) may be more conspicuous in their operation than the contemplative gifts. Such a life is distinguished from a life that is simply virtuous, by being lived under interior impulsion and guidance. "Non tam agunt quam

aguntur," says St. Thomas. And it is surely manifest that such a life was Father Doyle's.

To which I would venture to add this. If you seek for tokens of Father Doyle's mysticism, that is of the Divine life in him as contrasted with his own responsive efforts, do not seek them in his diaries, in which he laboriously chronicles his struggles, his failures and his successes, lest he should grow negligent. Look rather at his letters; in them his mind is on his correspondent's needs, and he unconsciously reveals what God is doing in himself.

The Society of Jesus owes a debt of gratitude to Professor O'Rahilly for his splendid and (I believe) enduring work. So indeed does the whole Catholic world. M. F. E.

ST. BENEDICT: A CHARACTER STUDY. By Rt. Rev. Ildephonsus Herwegen, O.S.B. Translated by Dom Peter Nugent, O.S.B. London: Sands. 1924. 7s. 6d. net.

THE LIFE OF ST. DOMINIC. By Bede Jarrett, O.P. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1924. 6s. net.

THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS. By Fr. Pius a Sp. Sancto. London: Sands. 1925. 6s. net.

SEVEN centuries lie between St. Dominic and St. Benedict, and another five separate St. Dominic from St. Paul of the Cross. All three Saints are founders of Religious families, which are still animated by the spirit of their respective founders and carrying on the work initiated by them. Of St. Benedict a Protestant recently wrote: "The very shortest list of the world's great statesmen must include St. Benedict's name. He stands with Julius Caesar as the chief moulder of one of the great civilisational organisations of past years. If we would see things in their true perspective . . . . it must appear that Hannibal, or Napoleon, or even Alexander, left a smaller dent on the story of mankind."[1] Abbot Herwegen is bent on making the reader appreciate the personality of St. Benedict. The Hermit, the Teacher, the Abbot, the Father, the Lawgiver—so many successive chapters bring out strongly a character exhibiting the austere traits of Nursian endurance, softened by the glow of Christian charity.

The chapter on "The Lawgiver" is perhaps a little disappointing. In it the writer remarks: "But the particular importance of Benedict and his surpassing position in the general history of monasticism lie in the conscious clearness and power with which he was able to establish monachism on the basis of the Roman

[1] Ian Hannah: *Christian Monasticism* (1924), p. 74.

union of government and yet preserve intact, in all its purity, the highest ideal of union with God " (p. 113). We doubt if the average reader will gather from the chapter what precisely St. Benedict did to preserve two ideals which, under less skilful handling, might have failed happily to blend. He based his law, we are told, on the doctrine of Cassian. " But he did not want a surfeit of ideals . . . . He wanted rather that the monk should keep working morally on himself, and thus form a profound interior life." The whole context seems to imply a contrast between a new element introduced by Benedict and the eremitical ideal from which he was breaking. But the treatment is not clear. It seems to us that if there was one point at which the disciple of Cassian and of Basil did labour, it was precisely to work " morally on himself, and thus form a profound interior life."

One might quarrel with expressions here and there in the book. Thus, on p. 121, the writer talks of " reflecting a manifold mysticism of sin and grace." Surely there is no mysticism of sin ! These however, are small points. The reader who wants to know something about this great character will not complain of any of the 183 pages. He will be drawn to the great lawgiver by the touch of tender affection which made Benedict desire to be buried side by side with his sister St. Scholastica, " that he might abide with her the long night of the grave and with her await the everlasting morning of the Resurrection."

Fr. Jarrett closes his life of St. Dominic with the words : " ' Because I believe, therefore have I spoken ' is the epitaph that must be written over his life ; because he believed in God he spoke of God ; because he believed in man he spoke to man." If the Middle Ages are deeply indebted to the Benedictine monk for " their culture and virile civilisation," the debt of the Christian world is no less great to St. Dominic and his preaching Friars for their resistance to the Albigensian heresy, which had arisen as a powerful force for the disintegration of Christianity. Even St. Bernard had almost lost heart when he found nearly " the whole knighthood of the country " to be against him. The rise of Dominic, the tireless energy of his campaign, the founding of his Friars to war on the heretics with their own weapon of austerity, and his signal triumphs form the theme of Fr. Jarrett's pages. The work is the work of a scholar, and of a scholar who can hold our interested attention all through. It is said that the democracy of to-day owes some pages to St. Dominic. The founding of his order and the drafting of the constitutions will be of special interest to the student of governments.

The life of St. Paul of the Cross is a reprint. The work first appeared in 1867. One might, perhaps, regret that, when re-issuing the work, more use was not made of the improved methods which now prevail in hagiography. There is no attempt at literary style. We have a simple narrative of an heroic life. It may be that this very simplicity of presentation best suits the Saint who admitted that he never once had to confess a sin of pride. The ideal of the Saint was to gather together disciples who would drink deep of the spirit of the Cross and go forth then to fight the materialism based on the inordinate quest of pleasure. The message of the Saint is certainly not out of date in our century. G. Byrne.

Celtica

GO mBEANNUIGHTHEAR DHUIT .i. Eachtra thar Eachtraibh. Micheál Ó Gríobhtha ("Cos Obann") do scríobh. Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Éireann. 1925. 1*s.* 6*d.*

An-scéal ar fad maidir le h-eachtraí, le h-iongantais, le múisiam is le mórloinne an scéal so Mhichíl. Dár ndó, a dhuine, is amhlaidh bheireann an scéalaidhe ó éacht go h-éacht thú, agus gan d'uain agat fiú féin d'anál do tharraingt le neart sceimhle agus cinnsileachta féachaint cadé an chéad rud eile thuitfeas amach! Scéal é, dá bhrigh sin, bheireas greim docht ar an léightheoir chuireas d'fhiachall air leanamhaint leis ghá léigheamh go gcríochnaigheann sé é. (Congaibh sé mé féin ar an dteinnteán an oidhche fé dheireadh, go leathuair tar éis a dó ar maidin cé gur fada, faraoir! ó laetheanta draoidheachta na h-óige anois mé). Rud eile, bíodh gur iomdha dúnmharbhadh agus beart shuarach, tháir thar a dtagann sé, thairis sin, ní fhágann an scéal aon droch-bhlas na dhiaidh. Os cionn cheithre bhfichead leathanach atá sa scéal féin agus deich leathanaigh de ghluais leis, na mínigheann an t-údar na focail chruadha *as Gaedhilg*. So rud ar ar cóir dár n-údair uile aithris do dhéanamh. Ní raibh acht leath an chirt ag an seanduine úd, a Mhichíl,—má bhí a leath féin. As so amach, caithfear ceachtar de dhá ní do sholáthar i dtólaimh do lucht léighte Gaedhilge,—deagh-scéal nó teagasc is eolas. Thug Micheál deagh-scéal dóibh den chor so. Go mba mó ceann eile bhéarfaidh sé uaidh gan ró-mhoill!

AN SEOIDIN. Seán Breathnach agus Pádraig Ó Cionnaigh do scríobh. Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Eireann; raol a luach; seacht leathanaigh cheathrachad.

Leabhairín gleoite i gcóir leanbh é seo. Ceachtanna rí-dhiúide a fheileas do pháistí, idir a cúig is a naoi atá ann,—cuid aca i

bhfilidheacht acht a bhfurmhór i gcainnt scortha. Ag deireadh gach ceachta tá míniú (as Béarla, foraoir !) ar na focail chruadha theagas isteach sa cheacht, agus na dhiaidh sin arís tá réim ceisteann ar ábhar an cheachta. Dhá mhór-easnamh liomsa an leabhairín bheith gan dealbha agus gan chlúdach éadaigh. Thug mé corr-dhearmad cló fá deara : cráidhte in áit craidhte (l. 17) : ndothain in áit ndóthain (l. 30). B'fhearr liom *gné* in ionad sórt ar l. 27 ; agus dála *anois* ar l. 30, béarlachas tur is eadh é. Cuirfid na naoidhin árd-shuim san leabhairín.

CRIOST MAC DE. Cuid a trí. Peadar Ó Laoghaire, Canónach, do scríobh. Brún agus Ó Nólan. Trí is raol a luach.

Ag so deireadh Beathadh an t-Slánaighteóra, fé mar chuir an t-Ath. Peadar in iúl dúinn í. Ní gábhadh dhom an t-údar mór Gaedhilge do mholadh. Dar ndó uisce dhá tharraingt chun na fairrge do bheadh ann agam. Agus, ar an dtaobh eile dhe, tá's ag a chuid léightheóirí, dhá mhéid féin é, ná raibh sé gan a lochta ; nárbh annamh é ag claoidh' go ró-dhlúth le caint na ndaoine gan eidirdhealú idir dheagh-chaint is droch-chaint, gan eidirdhealú, ar uaire, féin idir thuatachas is Gaedhaltacht. Thairis sin, tra, fear cinn riain é, d'athmhúin a nGaedhilg dhúchais do mhuintir na h-Éireann, agus ar ndó d'fhág rian a láimhe go doimhin in nuaidh-litríocht na Gaedhilge. Tá coinne agam go mbeidh éileamh maith ar " Críost Mac Dé." Cuirfidh an leabhar daoine ar a leas, idir aigne is anam. MICHEAL MAC CRAITH.

DOCHARTACH DHUIBHLIONNA AGUS SGEALTAI EILE. " Iolann Fionn " do scríobh. Curtha amach ag Cú Uladh, 6 Sráid Fheardorcha thuaidh, i mBaile-Átha-Cliath. 1925. Scilling a luach.

Tá Cú Uladh tar éis comaoin eile do chur ar lucht na Gaedhilge. Fear gnímh a bhí ann i gcomhnuidhe, dár ndóigh, agus go h-áirithe nuair do bhí na fir ghnímh ag teastáil go géar ; fear seasamhach, daingean, díreach, go h-áirithe nuair do bhí gádh le n-a leithéid—agus ba mhinic sin ; fear a bhí sásta cion fir—nó cion deichneabhair, ba chóra a rádh—do dhéanamh ar son na teangan, gan súil le tuarasdal ná le luach-saothair. Ach ab é Cú Uladh agus daoine eile dá shórt, bhéadh an sgéal go h-olc againn maidir le cúrsaíbh na Gaedhilge.

Ná ceaptar ó'n méid seo thuas go bhfuil an Chú ag leigint a sgíthe fé láthair, go bhfuil an laoch cródha éirighthe as an chath fé dheire. Ní fhuil lá a scurtha tagaithe fós agus go mba fada uainn an lá céadna. Tá sé bríoghmhar go fóill agus dá chomhartha sin,

tá leabhar ós mo chomhair anois—"Dochartach Dhuibhlionna agus Sgéaltaí Eile"—Iolann Fionn do scríobh agus Cú Uladh do chuir amach. 'Sé seo an chéad leabhar do shraith nua—Sraith Chomhaltais Uladh—agus má's mar a chéile na leabhraí atá ar an bhealach agus an leabhar seo, tá foghmhar maith i ndán dúinn.

Tá ceithre sgéalthaí i leabhar Iolainn Fhinn agus iad innste i nGeadhilg líomhtha nádúrtha. 'Sa chéad sgéal nochtuightear dúinn anam duine atá daortha chun báis mar gheall ar dhúnmharbhadh do dhéanamh. Innseann an fear bocht a sgéal féin agus gan ach cúpla uair a' chluig fágtha aige ar an saoghal seo. Is uathbhásach an sgéal a innseann sé, ach diaidh ar ndiaidh, glacann truagh dhó ár gcroidhe agus ag deire an sgéil, nuair a chuireann an dúnmharbhthóir paidir suas cun na Maighdine Muire, nuair a ghlaodhann sé uirthe "as béalaibh Ifrinn," níl neart againn ach a rádh "Ámen."

Tá na sgéaltaí eile go léir so-léighte. Níl againn ach aon locht amháin ar an leabhar—an iomarca fola dá dortadh ann. Bíonn blas ar an mbeagán, is fíor, ach nuair a bhíonn troid agus fuil agus an bás ag baint na sál dá chéile agus—mar bhárr ar gach donas—an diabhal i riocht leinbh a thagann ar ais tar éis bheith curtha san uaigh—nuair a bhíonn na neithe sin go léir ag duine, ní h-é an beagán atá aige, pé sgéal é! Nach dtig le h-Iolann Fionn sgéaltaí a chunadh agus smaointí seachas iad sin ionnta? Cuirfidh mé geall go dtig. Nach mbíonn eachtraí grinn, eachtraí spóirt, eachtraí sonais agus grádha ag tuitim amach i nUltaibh comh maith le h-áit ar bith eile i n-Eirinn? Go deimhin is go dearbhtha, bíonn. A Iolainn Fhinn, tá féith na scríobhnóireachta ionnat, lean leis an deagh-obair atá idir lámhaibh agat; tá súil againn le n-a thuille sgéal uait, ach, ar son an tsonais, ná tabhair dúinn an iomarca de na sgéaltaíbh duibhlionna.

S. MacM.

Classics

A HISTORY OF GREEK RELIGION. By Martin P. Nilsson. Translated from the Swedish by F. J. Fielden. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Milford. 1925. 12s. 6d. net.

Professor Nilsson has been long known as one of the foremost authorities on Greek religion, and has published standard works on Primitive Time-reckoning and on the Greek Calendar. In this book he, with his translator, supplies a want in English literature on the subject, for with the exception of Dr. Farnell's valuable little *Outline History*, there existed previously no English work dealing in a systematic way with the development of pagan Greek belief and worship as a whole. His book is the more valuable in

that it covers in brief scope all the various aspects from which Greek religion may be viewed—cult, myth, philosophic speculation, literary and artistic reactions, and so forth. In no other book is a more reasoned survey of growth and change in this most important and all-embracing department of ancient life to be found.

Greek religion has always tended to be the happy-hunting-ground of doctrinaries who wished to see their own fads, from the "symbolism" of the eighteenth century to the "sociology" of modern times, mirrored in the wisdom of antiquity. From such misleading dilettantism Professor Nilsson is refreshingly free, and his book may be relied on as a storehouse of sound historical doctrine. Unfortunately space, it would seem, has prevented him from giving as many references to his sources as one would wish, and the reader is puzzled here and there by inferences from unmentioned evidence. The translation is also a trifle on the heavy side, but having read some of Professor Nilsson's other work one is not sure that the blame attaches altogether to the translator. The present reviewer can only point to one printer's error, the accentuation of the word *pharmakos* on p. 87.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the book is its treatment of Greek religious origins. Another Swedish scholar, Persson, had already pointed out evidences for the Minoan origin of the Eleusinian cult. Professor Nilsson follows him boldly in showing what a large number of indications are already available for supporting the thesis that Greek religion as a whole has its roots in the Bronze Age Aegean. A natural thesis enough, one may say, but the fact remains that it has been for the first time systematically stated in this book. Anthropomorphism is noted as already a "Minoan" feature: the kinship between the Minoan goddess and such figures as Homer's Athene is attractively discussed; and in particular the probability is stressed that the hero-cult which was so prominent a feature in later Greek worship was already widespread in Mycenaean times.

Professor Nilsson's discussion of Greek Mythology and its relations to folk-tale on the one hand and religion on the other is also noteworthy both to the classicist and perhaps to the student of folk-lore in general. In this connection, a fine paper by Sir Arthur Evans in a recent issue of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1925), which shows us the Oedipus-myth on gems of the 15th century B.C., makes a useful commentary on what Professor Nilsson says. Towards such interesting fantasies as totemism in Early Greece and the tribal initiation ceremonies beloved by Cambridge, he is healthily sceptical. He may perhaps be somewhat

too much inclined to seek the origin of the gods in "nature-powers"; but his treatment of the Greek idea of divinity as power, and his illustration of this by the well-known *mana* of anthropological jargon is very clear and helpful to the student.

In his attitude toward the origins of individual god-figures Professor Nilsson is conservative. He accepts the German doctrine of Apollo's Asiatic origin and the explanation of Dionysos as "son of Zeus," but he regards the latter god as ancient in the Aegean and has no mention of that obsession of most recent scholars, his Thracian origin and late date. An interesting derivation is that of the horse-god Poseidon from the *Caiple bána* which belong to him in his function as god of the sea, and another is that of Pluto from the wealth of the stored corn. He agrees in the main with the view that Homer's religion is something special to either the poet or his place, and is not to be used as evidence for early belief; and he thinks that, Homer apart, we can trace a steady development from the religious ideas proper to Bronze Age kingdoms and their high civilisation, to the cruder practices of the Greek middle age and the system imposed by the City State. Hero-worship in particular, as a widespread observance, he convincingly derives from private ancestor-cults of earlier times, and shows how the State tended generally to take over or suppress such private cults.

There may lie in this evolution perhaps some possible explanation of the peculiar fate which befell the mystery-religions; originally private cults, they may have failed, at least in Athens, to have secured recognition by the newly organised State of the 6th century. Professor Nilsson is again wisely cautious on Orphism, and carefully avoids deriving it by the usual formula from a Thracian invasion, emphasising rather its ancient elements. He treats it, however, as an "epidemic" which was curbed by Apollo, and here allows himself to exaggerate somewhat. His chapter on "Legalism and Mysticism," dealing with these two opposing forces in sixth-century Greece, is excellent on the whole and breaks new ground, as also does his general emphasis on the secular side of the State religion in the 5th century. He has many illuminating remarks on the effect upon men like Herodotus and Sophocles of the various tendencies—rationalistic, mystical, etc.—which played upon the mixture of Homeric mythology and State-ordered cultus that made up their religion. Few scholars have succeeded so well in assigning its due proportion to each of these influences, and especially in distinguishing things Homeric from things legal or customary. Perhaps in the failure of the State-cult organised by the democratic city—a cult which practically worshipped the State itself

as a god—we may see a simple genesis for the new tendency to worship the individual who for a later age came to personify the State.

The book concludes with a very brief and not altogether necessary account of pagan survivals in modern Greece, and is prefaced by a short introduction from the pen of Sir James Frazer. Curiously enough, it may well be that such books as this will give their quietus to a few of Sir James's own bantlings. M. T.

LATIN CHRISTIANITY FROM TERTULLIAN TO BOETHIUS. By Pierre de Labriolle. Translated from the French by Herbert Wilson. With Introductory Foreword by Cardinal Gasquet. London: Kegan Paul. 1924. 25s. net.

BOETHI DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE LIBRI QUINQUE. Quos denuo recognovit, etc. Adrianus a Forti Scuto, S.T.D. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1925. 12s. 6d.

M. DE LABRIOLLE has been lucky in his translator and in his publisher. His *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* appeared in 1921, and was everywhere favourably received. Now it appears, englished, in a series (*The History of Civilization*) which contains, so far as I can judge, no other Catholic name. But the choice was almost inevitable, for there is literally no other book which gives in such convenient and readable form the whole story of Latin Christian literature. And the story is worth telling. Curiously enough, if you exclude the first century A.D., Latin-speaking Christianity produced a literature in many respects more interesting, and certainly more varied, than the literature of the Greek-speaking East. Theology predominates in the East. In the West men were more personal in what they wrote, and they wrote for simpler, less speculative readers. Tertullian, whose influence in the West was unrivalled until St. Augustine began to write, is the type of Latin Christianity: vehement, plain-spoken, with a marked preference for the problems of every-day Christian life. M. de Labriolle delights in rough-sketching such a portrait: perhaps his chapters on Tertullian and St. Ambrose are the best in the book. He has a theory, too, which is worth noting: that Tertullian is the anonymous editor of the *Passio* of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas. If that be so, one of the masterpieces of Latin Christianity gains new interest and throws light on the history of African Montanism. I am glad to see that M. de Labriolle must now be added to the long list of scholars who believe that Minucius Felix wrote his *Octavius* half a century later than Tertullian's *Apologeticum*.

It is a real joy to turn from chapter to chapter of this book, and note each fresh point of interest. M. de Labriolle is unduly hard on Rufinus, for example. Had he read Cavallera's *St. Jérome*, to which allusion is made in this English edition, before writing his chapter on that famous controversy, he might have hesitated in his judgment. And I protest in the name of all lovers of true literature against his portraiture of my first and best friend, Sulpicius Severus, as no better than an amiable, worldly-minded sceptic. M. de Labriolle should have been wiser than to take Babut's theories at their face-value. Once again, if he had been able to read Father Delehaye's recent criticism of Babut's work, I feel sure that he would have dealt more reverently with a well-loved name.

Mention of Babut and Sulpicius Severus suggests the Book of Armagh, and it is sad to note that M. de Labriolle has not so much as a paragraph on our own St. Patrick, surely no mean figure in the history of Latin Christianity. Many other minor figures are admirably sketched: Arnobius and Lactantius, for example, and Venantius Fortunatus, the first of the troubadours. Indeed, the tendency of modern criticism would seem to be in favour of studying minor personalities in the light of great movements. M. de Labriolle's chapters on St. Jerome and St. Augustine add nothing to what an educated student would be expected to know; but he has a hundred interesting things to say of Montanists, Priscillianists, Donatists, and the minor champions of orthodoxy. One name surely deserved fuller treatment. Pelagius is the greatest of western heretics, and Dr. Souter has taught us to judge this ill-fated (British or Irish ?) monk more kindly. Perhaps a second edition of M. de Labriolle's work will chronicle the appearance of that *editio princeps* of the heresiarch's commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, which Dr. Souter has been promising for some years past.

M. de Labriolle closes his book with a chapter on Boethius, Cassiodore, St. Gregory of Tours and St. Isidore of Seville. To most English readers the four are no more than names, and it is sad to note that Mr. Wilson, careful translator though he is, renders the French *Fronton* by "Frontonius" (whoever that may be!) throughout the book. Has the fame of Africa's "second Cicero" passed so utterly into oblivion? Dr. Fortescue set himself during the last years of his life to restore the fame of a greater than Fronto, the Christian Plato. How many to-day have read the *Consolatio Philosophiae?* It is ten years and more since the prose of Boethius first made music in my ear, and I find now that to turn back to

Boethius is almost as true a pleasure as to take up one of Cicero's dialogues. Scaliger wrote of him: "Saeculi barbaria eius oratio soluta deterior invenitur, at quae libuit ludere in poesi divina sane sunt." With all respects to Scaliger, I would reverse that judgment. It is the prose which has the more lovely rhythm; the verse is artificial in its classicism. But my thanks are due once more to Dr. Fortescue, and to his friends who have published this work, for renewing my acquaintance.

The edition which they have produced is not an easy book to review. There is so much that must have been a labour of love, so little that will be recognised by conventional scholarship. The introduction, written by Dr. George Smith from Dr. Fortescue's notes, is devoted mainly to the proof that Boethius was a Christian. Since Holder's discovery (1871) of a fragment in which Cassiodore definitely attributes to Boethius certain treatises on Christian theology, the faith of Boethius has been held certain by almost all scholars. Why that faith should have been so little apparent in the *Consolatio* is a more difficult question to answer. Dr. Fortescue has collected numerous passages which make it plain that Boethius was familiar with the Christian truths as to the nature of God, creation, the immortality of the soul, and so forth. But why is the name of Christ nowhere mentioned? If Boethius, as tradition tells us, died a martyr, to whom did he give witness? Perhaps Boissier's explanation, quoted by M. de Labriolle, is the best. This Christian philosopher vindicates in his *Consolatio* the right which St. Augustine had claimed in the dialogues written at Cassiciacum, of viewing life in the light of philosophic truth, which these two, the greatest of the Fathers and the first of the Scholastics, knew well would never prove incompatible with the divine truths of Christian faith.

Dr. Fortescue does not deal with questions of textual criticism; he prints Peiper's text, with certain selected variants by way of *apparatus criticus*. The foot-notes are full of literary reminiscences and quotations; grammatical and stylistic difficulties are not discussed. At the end of the book are to be found two short appendixes on questions of philosophy, a good list of *Testimonia* in praise of Boethius (beginning with Ennodius and ending with Leo XIII., who sanctioned his cult as a martyr in Italy), a full bibliography, and three indexes, one giving a list of quotations from Dante, who is used copiously in the foot-notes. Altogether it is an edition that will appeal to the book-lover rather than the scholar, and the publishers have clothed it in a binding which Dr. Fortescue would have loved to handle.

A. G.

Drama

THE TECHNIQUE OF THE ONE-ACT-PLAY. By Robert I. Gannon, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press. 1925. $2.

SIX ONE-ACT PLAYS. By Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S.J. New York: Benziger. 1925. $1.75.

PLAYS OF INNOCENCE. By Gwen John. London: Benn. 1925. 3*s.* 6d. paper; 5*s.* cloth.

That excellent preceptor of youth, Mr. Squeers, held it as a sound doctrine that the best way to teach a boy something was to make him do it, whether it was to clean the "winder" or to weed the garden. Now Father Gannon, in the first of the books above mentioned, tells us how the one-act-play should be written, while Father Lord and Gwen John have furnished us with specimens of this class of dramatic literature. It is interesting to observe how far the two playwrights have complied with the canons laid down by the authority on the writing of plays. Indeed, Father Gannon mentions one of Father Lord's plays, *The Road to Connaught*, in his list of one-act-plays recommended for study; so we may assume that *The Road to Connaught* fulfils his requirements.

Father Gannon's book is, as he himself calls it, a text-book. It was written not for playwrights nor newspaper critics, but for college men, "to guide them through the one-act-play to higher things. . . ." He divides it into four parts—the Nature, the Construction, the Analysis and, finally, the Writing of a One-Act-Play. Irish readers will be interested to note the extent to which the author has been impressed by the work of the *Abbey* Theatre. Dunsany, Synge, and Lady Gregory are repeatedly mentioned, and his "Analysis" consists of *The Rising of the Moon* in its entirety. In addition to setting down his own views, Father Gannon invites the reader to answer for himself a number of questions which appear at the end of various chapters in the form of exercises. It may be that playwrights, like poets, are born not made; but the budding author in this particular field of writing should find not a little assistance in his craft from this work on its technique.

Of the six plays offered to us by Father Lord, that with the clumsy title, *Mistress Castlemaine's Christmas Dinner*, is the best and most in keeping with the conditions prescribed by Father Gannon. It has the necessary "push," and the dialogue is good. *The Flame Leaps Up* (the reverend writer is not happy in nomenclature), an episode of the Armada time, is likewise dramatic, and holds the interest; while *The Road to Connaught*, already

mentioned, is chiefly remarkable for the struggle in a woman's soul between love and faith. The remaining trio are better suited to the Convent-school than to the commercial stage. Perhaps it was with this intent more or less that they were written, for the "jacket" tells us that "they may be staged quite simply, either indoors or on the campus."

Very different in character are the *Plays of Innocence*, by Gwen John, and why they are so called is not obvious. The "atmosphere" of three of them is similar to what we find in so many *Abbey* plays, or in the Scottish and North England plays that belong to the *Abbey* school; the fourth, *A Peakland Wakes*, is more of a mystic nature. A lack of action, of dramatic movement, is a fault common to all these plays, and Father Gannon's canons are not observed on this head. It is true, as he points out very properly, that action is to be distinguished from motion. "Motion is mere change of position," but . . . . "action is nearer to the truth than speech . . . . Men are what men do." Gwen John's men and women talk all the time and do nothing. The talk is not specially brilliant, although in *Luck of War* we get some mordant and truthful comments on human nature. The success of the picture-theatre is due in no small degree to the extent to which deeds rather than words appeal to the average theatregoer, a fact to which Father Gannon makes allusion.

As already stated, *The Technique of the One-Act-Play* is a text-book, a book to be studied rather than lightly glanced over, and one forms the impression that both of the one-act-play dramatists whose works we have under review might peruse it with profit to themselves. W. D.

Education

EDUCATIONAL YEAR-BOOK OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TEACHERS' COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1924. Edited by I. L. Kandel, M.A., PH.D., Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University. New York and London: Macmillan. 1925. pp. xiv., 650. 15s.

THE International Institute which issues this Year-book is apparently composed of five American writers on education, of whom Dr. Kandel and Dr. Paul Monroe are two. In this limited sense of the word International lies the explanation of the special bias that militates greatly against the usefulness, and even against the reliability, of this volume. A large number of countries are surveyed, each by a special writer, who is or is not an American,

there being no evidence of a fixed plan in this respect. The so-called "American principle" in education, a kind of negative secularism as the ideal system, and a relegation of religious instruction to be a mere disconnected cause of aberrations from this assumed "American" principle, is found everywhere. There is, for instance, vast lamentation over the untoward tendency of German education to find a sure basis in religious training for all educational progress. There is no mention of Holland, which has very definitely taken the same road: or rather, the fate of Holland is lamented in one sentence within an article dealing with another country. There is much exaltation of Czecho-Slovakia, because that rather mixed area is supposed to be tending away from Rome. And so on. This kind of thing may be all very well in a series of propaganda articles in a party review concerning itself with education. But it is not fair in a work that claims to be an International Year Book.

A lesser defect, though also a distinct drawback to the usefulness of this volume, is the absence of any attempt to standardise educational statistics and allied fact matter. A series of such articles, presenting the latest facts as to numbers and costings, and as to grades and types of all schools, would be essential to a properly planned year-book. We look in vain for any such plan in Professor I. Kandel's work. He does not control his team of writers at all. Thus, very useful "horaria," or weekly hour-subject-class distributions of work in a sequence of schools, are given for Czecho-Slovakia very fully. But nothing of the kind is given for Germany or for France, not to speak of other lands. This lack of system is a cause of great disappointment to the student of education. Again, new plans, American or Continental, should always be accompanied by data as to their exact prevalence. Where and in how many American Schools, for instance, is the "Dalton plan" at work? What is the range of use of the "Frankfort plan"? This latter is quite thirty-five years old: the facts could be easily ascertained and stated. We are too often furnished only with vague allusions combined with vague expressions of either praise or the reverse. This is not the style expected in a true Year Book.

At the same time, the present volume will be found to have many uses. It is quite candid, for instance, about the immense and glaring defects of the much-vaunted American Common School. The short careers of even trained teachers—the best State average hardly reaches six years of work—is an index to all these shortcomings. Had the investigators condescended to examine, say, this one aspect of Catholic education on the popular side, in the

United States and in France, the true lesson on devotion to education as a life service could have been read and set forth. But this, of course, would be a violation of the great secularist principle, and we must not expect a statement of the truth, if the truth has such untoward results. T. C.

HISTOIRE DE LA PEDAGOGIE. Par L. Riboulet. Preface de M. André Baudrillart. Lyon et Paris: E. Vitte. 1925. pp. 562. 15 *frs.*

THE investigation of the real facts about the History of Education and the History of Schools has, within the past twenty-five years, been carried on with much more vigour in France than in England or in America. Most American writers are still obsessed by the theory that Puritanism is in some way integrally connected with Educational Progress: and they have made the History of Education in America consist in the very moderate achievements of New England. In England and Scotland the Protestant legend dies hard: the excellent results of Mr. A. E. Leach and the critical position taken up by Mr. J. E. P. Montmorency have had but a very limited degree of influence on the average text-book writer; while for Scotland, the best summary of the truth, a brochure published a few years ago by Mgr. Ritchie of Glasgow, is as yet little known.

But in France the truth has become more patent to the reading public. The publicity services in the cause of Catholic education, devised in various forms by M. Jean Guiraud and a host of collaborators, has put an end to the Revolution myth as regards educational opportunities in the Catholic epoch of French history. The true position of Voltaire and the politico-legal authors of the Revolution, as repressive of popular opportunities, is now well known. It is brought out fully in this new manual of M. L. Riboulet, which is worthy to take rank with the corresponding volume produced after the war by M. François Collard of Louvain. The best English and German results have been fully utilised by M. Riboulet in this orderly and clearly-written manual. It is perhaps too full of facts and names, as most French manuals are by long tradition. There is too often a tendency to reiterate, a score or two score times it may be, the mere platitudes of writers on how to educate. A vigorous suppression of the obvious should be the rule with the writer of a text-book, once the obvious has been once well said.

M. Riboulet is also, perhaps, too much inclined to make a sharp distinction between theorists, as of the Catholic or of the non-

Catholic schools of thought. Many writers on education, in name and in personal belief Catholic enough, are either quite colourless in the expression of their educational ideas or lean to a definitely non-Catholic side. This is especially true, for instance, of Montaigne and of Jacotot: many other instances will be obvious to the reader of M. Riboulet's text. Unless a writer definitely and expressly bases his proposals on formally Catholic principles of philosophy, history, and educational aims, it is hardly expedient to class him or her as a Catholic in the matter of Education. To their great gain, such writers as Vincent of Beauvais and B. Joannes Dominici in the past, and again such leaders of thought as Overbeck, Willmann, Dupanloup, Gratry, in recent years, have thus stood out as formally and avowedly Catholic. Others, as Newman, expressly disclaimed any such basis and purpose in their writings on educational theory. A true classification of writers into coherent groups must rest on some philosophical division or principle. M. Riboulet's excellent manual would be the better still, if it formulated a Catholic position or positions, expressed in accord with such principles. We could then dispense with much of the mere load of facts and dates, and find an illuminating guide in a History of Education so planned. T. C.

Fiction

THE LAST LAP. By Fergal McGrath, S.J. New York: Benziger; Dublin: Talbot Press. 1925. 6s. net.

FATHER MCGRATH'S book is the first thing of its kind to be written in Ireland. It has distinct affinities with the later work of that very brilliant Jesuit, Father Garrold. It has affinities too with some of the work of Mr. Compton Mackenzie. In his power of handling with a sure and delicate touch those subtle religious and emotional experiences which occasionally fall to boys, Father McGrath recalls both his predecessors. By his keen sense of humour, his vivid freshness of style, and his vivacity of manner he carries his reader with him almost as easily as they. And while he certainly lacks that close observation of a boy's speech and manner which makes Father Garrold's books ring so true, and that beauty and polish of writing which can sometimes ornament the most casual incident narrated by Mr. Mackenzie, he is less tempted than either of these authors to spoil a straightforward plot by the extravagances of a fine imagination.

It is unfortunately possible that all these qualities may pass to some extent unrecognised. The book is not for boys alone. It

would be a pity if it were not read by their elders. Yet its author may find that one of the best school stories ever created delights few people beyond the school-boys of the present generation. It is possible that this would not greatly worry him, for he has written manifestly for boys. But since boys cannot unaided keep even their favourite authors alive, it would be a grave loss to the generations of them yet to come, who will miss this book should it not find a deserved if limited immortality in the appreciation of present-giving parents, uncles and aunts. That the book, if read by grown-ups, will appeal, we do not doubt.

Fr. McGrath possesses, in the first place, a great fertility of sympathetic imagination which makes of his William the butler, Larry Whelan the gunman, and Pat Doyle of Rathgorman, types of exceptional vividness, comparable with the more carefully elaborated figures of Mr. Robinson or Mr. O'Casey. A delicate vein of irony, too, runs through the book from cover to cover. This will no doubt pass over the heads of average boys. It will not, however, be lost upon a reader whom a little longer pilgrimage has taught to recognise the humours and illusions of the road.

Above all, the book breathes throughout that envigorating air of a straightforward idealism. There is here no cant, no shadow of a compromise with life as it is lived in a big Irish school. There are descriptions of boys and men and moods that may perhaps depress the ardent or the deluded ; but there is at the same time as stirring a story of a spiritual struggle and victory as has found expression in any Irish novel. We are all perhaps suffering a little too much from the reaction which follows the enthusiasms of young hearts and young nations, and " The Last Lap " is just the book to restore the fine edge to our endeavour. It is not a story of one school or one class ; it is a story of young Ireland in 1921. Great national questions of peace and war are raised in the chapters of the Black and Tan fighting and the strike of the school servants. Greater questions of peace of soul are raised and answered as we watch the struggle of Alec Russel, the hero of the tale, who forms and fashions himself to unselfishness in order to carry out the ideal he has all along subconsciously acknowledged, an ideal which is chivalrous and devoted, Irish and Catholic.

M. B.

ILS ETAIENT QUATRE. . . . By Henry Poulaille. Paris : Grasset. 1925. 6 fr. 75.

This book is dedicated to Ramuz, and one readily sees a certain affinity in style and temperament between the two authors. It

is a short, powerful, and ghastly story; and its effect is attained with a surprising simplicity and economy of means. Four soldiers, the most unruly amongst their fellows, get a day's leave, and go off in high holiday spirits to explore wonderful natural caves—"twenty-five kilometres in extent, perhaps, and no one has ever found out how many passages are there, two hundred or a thousand"—near *les Baumes*, away in the mountains. The guide is at the war, no one has gone in for three years, the electric light has been cut off; but what of that? Have they not appropriated a nice little stock—Mignard has ten—of regimental candles? They are out of the light of day pretty soon; and it is rather eerie, all the same, to be walking single-file, in the dark, with a vast cavity above, and

Beneath them now, there was water bubbling with the noise of a torrent. It must be a waterfall, and perhaps they would see it. They talked in a whisper, afraid that their voices might bring the vault tumbling about them, getting a fright when the echo took them up, almost inaudible though they were, and sent them back in volume, reverberating in the passages between the mighty rocks they were traversing.

The first real spasm comes when they realise that they have lost their way. A rotten foot-bridge gives way beneath them. Mignard sprains his ankle, and soon after in a panic rush trips on a slippery steep and goes to his death. The others, in their instinct for self-preservation, barely notice that he is left behind. The first night they sleep, and then, their candles long since burnt out, they wander aimlessly, calling, calling. Dantaux on the third day falls into a whirlpool. Reich gets shattered in a vain attempt to climb to a cleft that seems to promise an issue. Laillé—we do think that the author might have spared him his life, if not his reason!—Laillé stumbles along by chance to the exit, and in sheer fright at seeing the light of day, rushes back into the darkness.

The horror is set off by the chapters describing the dismay in the regiment, the ingenious devices to account for the men's absence, the sad position of the sergeant, a decent fellow though a drunkard. The real tragedy is in the chapter about the pedestrian photographer, who hears a cry from a cleft in the rock.

Merely to think that there was a man calling, lost in the night under hundreds of metres of rock, he shuddered. . . . He seemed to see him, and he trembled with fear as if he suddenly were before his eyes at a turn of the road. . . . He told himself he was powerless to do anything. "I can't do anything, I can't do anything," he said, his teeth chattering.

And when he reaches the inn, he lets the innkeeper persuade him that it was the wind howling.

Then the man consented to believe him; he persuaded himself, and a weight fell from his breast . . . because . . . all the same . . he preferred it so.

Meantime the men are written off as deserters. M. R.

THE GOLDEN LEGENDS OF THE GAEL. By Maud Joynt. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1925. 3s. 6d. net.

BATTLES AND ENCHANTMENTS. Retold from Early Gaelic Literature. By Norreys Jephson O'Conor. London: Sands. 1924. 3s. net.

From mines of well-nigh inexhaustible riches—that is to say, such great manuscript collections as *Leabhar na hUidhre*, the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, the *Great Book of Lecan*, the *Book of Leinster*, the *Book of Ballymote*, the *Leabhar Breac*—Miss Maud Joynt (whose scholarly knowledge of Old and Middle Irish gives validity to the claims she has staked out) has quarried, direct, the greater portion of the precious metal she has minted into the thirty-three tales, which make up her *Legenda Aurea*. Like the famous book of Jacobus de Voragine, from which she has, not unhappily, borrowed the title, this work of Miss Joynt's is " une tentative de laïcisation " ; it aims at making available for the man in the street, what was hitherto only for the enjoyment of the specialist. The author's purpose has been admirably served by the form in which she has cast her matter. Unalloyed by mannerisms, it rings as true and clear as a bell.

Mr. Norreys Jephson O'Conor's modernization—*virginibus puerisque*—of the myths connected with the *Tuatha de Danaan* had for purpose, he tell us, " to persuade Americans to consider the spiritual, rather than the political, history of Ireland, as interpreted in the legends of the Old Irish People." It was, doubtless, found useful, in the country of its origin, by aspirants for initiation into the cult, as a preparatory study of the mythology underlying the symbolism of Mr. George Russell and the " fitful Danaan rhymes " of Mr. W. B. Yeats.

Both books are beautifully turned out by their respective publishers, and may be recommended as very suitable gifts for the gift-giving season which is just upon us. Helena Concannon.

History

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH HISTORY. By William F. T. Butler, M.R.I.A., etc. With nine Maps and a Pedigree. London: Longmans. 1925. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Butler has republished in this volume some important studies which appeared a few years back in the journals of archaeological societies, and he has amplified and completed them with much additional matter. His aim has been " to describe from original contemporary sources the leading features of the organisation

of the Gaelic portions of Ireland at the time when the old Gaelic policy was passing away and was being replaced by English institutions." This he does effectively by discussing two great native principalities in West Munster, the lordships of MacCarthy Mór and MacCarthy Reagh, the Tudor policy of surrender and regrant and, finally, the Cromwellian confiscation in Muskery.

He indicates summarily how under the pressure of the Anglo-Norman invasion the royal house represented by the MacCarthys was forced from the rich level lands about Cashel into the strong hill country of what has become the counties of Cork and Kerry; how it established itself there together with its subordinate lords, and ruled and defended, in some fashion according to Irish law and custom, that remnant of its ancient kingdom until the end of the 16th century. The extent of the territory subject to the two branches of MacCarthy Mór and MacCarthy Reagh was about 2,700 square miles, nearly seven-eighths of the area of Upper and Lower Alsace transferred from Germany to France at the end of the late war. MacCarthy Reagh, having shaken off his kinsman's suzerainty towards the end of the 13th century, ruled independently a district of about 600 square miles on the southern coast, which afterwards became the barony of Carbury. The rest remained under the government of MacCarthy Mór, but was parcelled out in subordinate lordships, as the medieval kingdom of France into duchies, so that the royal power was exercised directly in only a comparatively small district, and the revenue in money was exceedingly modest, not quite £300 at a time when Kerry cows were rated at 6s. 8d. each. It must, however, be borne in mind that money formed then but a small part of the public revenue, and that it had nowhere, least of all western countries in Ireland, the use it now has in the administration of a state.

The royal dignity was maintained chiefly by the produce of royal demesnes; civil services did not make the same demand on the public purse as now; no post office was run with a large deficit; the judiciary and other high offices had lands not salaries assigned for their support, there was no police, and the armed forces were in part quartered on the country and in part supplied at need by calling out the quota of able-bodied inhabitants armed and provisioned at their own expense.

On the subject of sovereign rights and administration, a good deal of illuminating detail will be found in these close-packed pages; but the main theme is the tenure and distribution of land, and how they were affected by political convulsions. The carefulness and minuteness, the wide research with which this hitherto insufficiently

studied and little understood department of our history is here examined and illustrated are worthy of high praise. By a happy fortune Mr. Butler was working while the necessary material was available. Now, as he writes, "many of the original documents from which I gleaned my facts are gone for ever, destroyed by the hands of Irishmen in 1922." From that catastrophe, so disastrous to historical studies, Mr. Butler's patriotic diligence has rescued something, and his work stands as a monument unscathed by surrounding ruin. It is an admirable example of a difficult undertaking well carried out, and it will remain as a storehouse to which the student and the historian will recur for authoritative information.

Henry VIII. in these pages lays aside his bluffness, and wears a gracious, even a kindly air. Mr. Butler concludes that, as an alternative to a war of extermination, "the other plan, conquest by conciliation, was Henry's own. In all his dealings with the native Irish that monarch acted in a spirit of moderation which is in striking contrast with the accepted view of his character." More than a hundred year were to pass after Henry's reign before an English monarch could say: "My acts are my ministers, but my words are my own." That this, however, was true of Henry's Irish policy herein must appear from the record of Henry's own proposal to the English privy council to exterminate the native Irish, a proposal which the council were humane and adroit enough to shelve; and which the council in Ireland declared to be impracticable.

Hugh O'Neill's famous answer to the tactless extoller of an English settler's long descent in Ireland is quoted from Smith in the words, "I *hate* the English churl as if he came but yesterday," which Mr. Butler finds unlike O'Neill's discreetness. A less objectionable version is "I *esteem* the churl as if he had come but yesterday," which might be an opportune rebuke to one that should speak to O'Neill of a four hundred year ancestry as ancient.

C. McN.

THE STUDENT'S HISTORY OF IRELAND. By Stephen Gwynn. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1925. 5s.

THIS book is not a mere epitome of Mr. Gwynn's larger History, published in 1923. It has been, as the author points out in his preface, almost entirely re-written.

It tells the story of Ireland, from the earliest times to 1925, in 310 not very large pages, and tells it clearly. The first part,

dealing with the pre-Norman period, is especially admirable. Confusing details regarding each small state are avoided, and a distinct picture is given of Celtic Ireland as a whole. Later chapters on the Growth of the Middle Nation and the End of Feudalism are also very good. The very common error of stating or implying that the Anglo-Normans of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries had become so hibernicised that they were regarded, or regarded themselves, as Irishmen has been avoided. In dealing with the later 17th century, the author appears to us to have condensed too much. Of the events in Ireland during the reign of Charles II practically nothing is said, and the account of James II's Irish policy up to 1688, and of his Parliament of 1689, might have been lengthened at the expense of some of the military events of the Williamite War. The Treaty of Limerick also is rather briefly dismissed.

When we reach the later decades of the 19th century, the events begin to be rather over-crowded, and this is increasingly the case as we advance. Owing to this, little detail can be given, and the reader is apt to lose the sense of the relative importance of the facts. This would be no drawback in a book meant chiefly for reference; but, for a student who seeks to learn and remember, it renders the process more difficult, and may cause him to fail in comprehending the significance of movements as wholes.

In this, as in the larger work, we find many instances of Mr. Gwynn's great power of condensing an argument, or stating a cause or result, in a few words or a few lines. I have space here for only two examples. In speaking of "the usage of recording native Irish literature and learning in the native tongue," he says: "Elsewhere in Europe, people at this time [*the 7th century A.D.*] disdained to write down what was not in Latin: and this is how we have in Ireland a literature older than any in Europe, except the Greek and the Latin." Again (page 240), he thus sums up the case against the Legislative Union: "The real condemnation of the law which abolished self-government in Ireland is that for a century Ireland struggled to undo it, and that after one hundred and twenty years it had to be undone."

With a few of the statements made in this book we are inclined to disagree. On page 148, it is stated: "When Conn Bacagh O'Neill was created earl, he insisted that his legitimate son Shane, then an awkward, backward boy, should be passed over, and that an elder son Matthew, of illegitimate birth, should be created Baron of Dungannon, with right to succeed to the earldom." We are not aware that anything is known of what sort of boy Shane was. We hear nothing of him between

1531, when he was evidently a very young child, and 1550, when he was as evidently a grown man. Neither is there any evidence to show whether it was by the desire of Conn or that of the English Government that the name of Matthew was inserted in the patent; but the latter seems much more likely.

When Poyning's Law is spoken of (on pages 136 and 210), the account given of it is, in both instances, quite misleading. Again, it is not fair to say (page 231) that Flood was against *all* concessions to Catholics. He wished that their social and professional disabilities should be removed, and that freedom of worship should be accorded them, but that they should continue to be deprived of political power.

On page 247, it is stated that the Irish Catholic bishops were willing to agree that the English Government should have an absolute veto on episcopal appointments in Ireland. The real fact is that the episcopal trustees of Maynooth, ten in number, agreed that, if the Pope were willing, a certain right of veto, by no means an absolute one, might be permitted. But these trustees did not claim to speak for the whole hierarchy of Ireland.

When (page 233) the atrocities committed by the 1798 insurgents, the massacre on Wexford Bridge and the burning of prisoners in Scullabogue barn, are mentioned, we should surely be shown the other side of the picture, and have an account of some of the doings of the militia and the British regular troops—for example, the burning of Enniscorthy hospital, with all the sick and wounded within it, by the "Hessians." M. T. H.

MESOPOTAMIA. The Babylonian and Assyrian Civilization. By L. Delaporte, Professor in the Catholic Institute of Paris. London: Kegan Paul. 1925. 16s.

M. Delaporte's *Mesopotamia* forms part of two great series of books dealing with the history of civilization. In the original French, it belongs to the collection entitled *L' Evolution de l' Humanité.* In the English translation, it is part of the series entitled *The History of Civilization.*

The English series is, or rather will be, the more extensive of the two. It will ultimately include all the volumes of *L' Evolution de l' Humanité.* The volumes of the latter collection that have already appeared have been translated and included in the English series. The others will be translated as they appear. In addition, *The History of Civilization* will contain many original works in English.

M. Delaporte gives a brief historical sketch of the two great

Mesopotamian empires. His history, though summary, utilises to the full the information supplied by the cuneiform inscriptions.

The chapters devoted to the history, political and military, of the two empires make painful reading. These peoples were undoubtedly very highly civilized in many respects. Yet, in their oppression of the weak, in their wanton attacks on defenceless neighbouring states, in their revolting cruelty to conquered enemies, they showed themselves little better than savages. M. Delaporte is content to record without comment the facts on which this judgment is based. The writer of the Foreword to his book, M. Henri Berr, is less reticent. He writes :—"The imperialist spirit found its fullest incarnation in the Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia . . . . The exploitation of the weak by the strong was the current practice, and it was pitiless. They were not content with victory : conquests and raids were accompanied by systematic massacres and wholesale deportations."

The main part of M. Delaporte's book is devoted to the social organization of the two peoples, their religious beliefs, their progress in arts, crafts, letters and science. On all these subjects he has collected the abundant information furnished by the cuneiform tablets.

M. Delaporte has done his work excellently. He has given a clear and orderly account of all that is known to date about the two Mesopotamian empires. P. Bartley.

Philosophy

ESSAI CRITIQUE SUR L'HYLEMORPHISME. Par Pedro Descoqs, S.J., Professeur de Philosophie au Scholasticat de Jersey. Paris : Beauchesne. 1924. pp. 413. 27*fr.*

This able and stimulating work appeared in nucleus in a number of articles in the *Revue de Philosophie*, 1921-1922. Its aim is to set up a more secure defence of the doctrine of matter and form than has been hitherto provided. The work is partly critical, partly constructive. In the critical portion, which occupies the larger space, the traditional arguments are subjected to a very searching examination. This criticism is, however, not purely destructive ; it leaves the structure of the hylemorphic theory almost wholly intact, but seeks out the weak points in its existing defences, with a view to finding more secure foundations.

The argument from substantial change, to which traditionally the most importance has been attached, claims the greatest attention. This argument, as usually put, is drawn from certain facts in the

physical order, in the inorganic and organic worlds. Its value depends on the correctness of its interpretation of the facts; and so it is at the mercy of fluctuations in scientific theory. The author gives us a careful review of scientific opinion on the question of the persistence of the elements in chemical change, and the question of the unity of matter. In regard to the former question, the progress of science favours the "pluriform" view, both in the case of inorganic and organic processes; and would tend to the conclusion that in substantial change the components do not disappear "usque ad materiam primam," but retain their individuality in some degree, and are related to the new substantial form rather as "materia secunda."

As to the question of the unity of matter, although there is anything but agreement among the physicists, it is clear that some physical hypotheses which enjoy considerable repute are such as the Thomist doctrine of matter and form, viewed as a physical theory, could not appeal to for support.

As long, therefore, as the doctrine of matter and form relies on physical arguments, its position must be precarious. It is, in fact, more ultimate and certain than any physical theory; and has a much more secure support in considerations above the physical plane. Some of the current metaphysical arguments are, however, open to objection. The author discusses at length the argument for the nature of finitude and limitation. The value and bearings of the principle, *actus limitatur per potentiam*, are examined. He regards this type of argument as circular, since the distinction of matter and form is more fundamental than that of potentia and actus. He disputes also the argument based on individuation; and also the reasoning that the theory of matter and form is a necessary postulate for working out the theory of moderate Realism. In the discussion of the arguments many interesting metaphysical problems come up for treatment, and we are brought back to the scene of classic controversies between Thomists, Scotists, and Suaresians. Incidentally also, several interesting points of Thomistic exegesis, and of history of Scholastic problems, are referred to.

The last part of the book is taken up with the defence of the doctrine of matter and form on metaphysical grounds, and gives a masterly exposition of the arguments from the nature of continuity, and from the distinctions of inertia and activity, quantity and qualities, in bodies. It is shown that the doctrine thus grounded, while independent of variations in physical theory, yet harmonizes naturally with the current trend of science. J. SHINE.

Ascetical Theology

LA SPIRITUALITE CHRETIENNE. Tome III: De la Renaissance au Jansénisme. Par P. Pourrat. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre. 1925. 16 *fr.* net.

DEVOTIONS ET PRATIQUES ASCETIQUES DU MOYEN AGE. Par Dom Louis Gougaud. Bruges: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie. 1925. 7 *fr.* net.

A ROUGH contrast between these two works would be that M. Pourrat deals with the soul of Christian worship, Dom Gougaud with its body. The task undertaken by M. Pourrat is an ambitious task: he sets himself to unravel the salient characteristics of the "great schools of Spirituality" from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. Recalling his definition of Spirituality as "that part of theology which deals with Christian Perfection and the ways that lead to it," we can easily see that one or other amongst "the ways" may be more particularly stressed by a writer or series of writers, and so might be perpetuated a "school of Spirituality." He is especially occupied with the "Spanish School," the "Italian School," the "School of St. Francis de Sales," and the "French School."

There can be no doubt that Spain of the 16th century was up in arms against Protestantism and the illumanism of the Alumbrados, but it is a very debatable question how far one could truly state "that the history of Spanish Spirituality of the period is, in part, that of the Inquisition." We fancy that both the Spirituality of the people and the working of the Inquisition should be sought, as indeed the writer suggests in his Preface, in the national character and environment: or rather we think that the central point of interest lies in the "ways" of aiming at Christian Perfection, for surely the ideal—Union with God—must be the same for all. This point is at times, perhaps, rather obscured in the work before us by the writer's anxiety to accentuate the differences of the "Schools." We cannot escape from the conviction that M. Pourrat is writing a thesis, and that history is compelled to verify the theory. We regret that the wider outlook of such a scholarly mind should be limited by this dip of his visible horizon.

Dom Gougaud is mainly occupied with "certain external manifestations of religious life in the centuries which preceded the era of the Renaissance and the reforms of the Council of Trent." Many of the chapters were originally published as independent studies, but there is a unity of thought binding them together. To some readers the table of contents might promise little, yet

if they open such chapters as "The Gestures of Prayer," "Ascetical Immersions," "The Discipline as Instrument of Penance," "Fasting in Ireland," they will get an interesting insight into the spirituality of soul which manifested itself through bodily movements or bodily suffering. There was something virile about the character of those ages, and even in the very posture adopted at prayer this virility found expression. The attitude, as Dom Gougaud remarks, was one of greater amplitude of gesture, hands and arms uplifted or outstretched, while the modern gesture is more contracted. Whether the modern Christian be more self-centred, he is certainly less given to physical effort, and is more attached to his own comfort.

One is surprised to learn that the posture of hands joined, with fingers interlaced, which every mother now teaches her little child, was unknown to the first eight centuries of Christianity; in the ninth century the feudal system had adopted, for the protestation of homage on the part of the vassal, the placing of his hands so joined in the hands of the feudal Lord, and the gesture gradually crept into prayer.

One of the most interesting chapters is the closing chapter on the "Desire of Martyrdom." At all times the genuine Christian realises that he should be an "Alter Christus," reproducing in his life the beauties of the mysteries of the life of Christ, and especially ready to drink of the chalice of suffering. Dom Gougaud shows how strong this spirit was in medieval Ireland: numbers of souls who could not win the crown of the martyrdom of blood, aspired to the two forms of quasi-martyrdom, called "white" martyrdom and "green" martyrdom. Job is considered by the ancient Irish the type of white martyrdom, which meant in practice self-conquest, self-immolation through renunciation of all that one loves; "green" martyrdom meant the mortification of one's desires through privations and fatigues in order to do penance.

This little book should certainly be added to the shelves of all those interested in the history of the Gael. It will throw much light on the value of Celtic traditions by revealing the vigour of body and mind which produced them, and without which they can not be maintained.

Both books are very valuable for their bibliographies. G. B.

RUYSBROECK THE ADMIRABLE. By A. Wautier d'Aygalliers. Authorised translation by Fred Rothwell. London: Dent. 1925. 12*s.* 6*d.* nett.

We learn from the translator's Note that the author of this very erudite and scholarly volume is Professor of the History of Philo-

sophy at the Faculté de Théologie protestante de Paris, and is also *pasteur* of the Foyer de l'Ame, Eglise réformée évangélique libérale. We have thus a study of Ruysbroeck from the point of view of "emancipated Protestantism," and of singular interest as such. M. d'Aygalliers has studied Ruysbroeck with much the same loving care as Dr. Baruzzi has bestowed on St. John of the Cross. Both writers need the same correctives; for both fail to grasp the essentially analogous character of mystical terminology, and are thus disposed to see pantheism everywhere.

The great speculative mystics of the fourteenth century, of whom Ruysbroeck was one of the greatest, pushed the scholasticism of the thirteenth century into those regions which lie beyond the critical reason, and in endeavouring to bridge the gulf between dogmatic theology and mystical speculation made such a broad use of analogy that the modern thinker is quite at sea in interpreting their statements. Unless he holds fast to the essential Catholicism of Ruysbroeck and his group of fellow-workers, he is practically forced by the letter of their texts to regard them as heterodox. These mystics meant what they said, but their terms do not mean what they would mean to-day. Hence the insuperable difficulty of the non-Catholic in understanding Tauler and Ruysbroeck, not to speak of Eckhart.

Even in interpreting a purely historical text, the non-Catholic is liable to make a "howler." M. d'Aygalliers, when describing the various irregularities in Divine worship which helped to drive Ruysbroeck from Brussels to the solitude of Groenendael, says that these were so pronounced "that on more than one occasion the pious celebrants had to break up the service and begin the mass (*sic*) over again in their own homes." He gives Pomerius's text in a footnote: "*Lecta relegere aut seorsum horas suas in privato dicere.*" A confusion between Mass and the Breviary is excusable in a Protestant, or at least understandable, but it throws a vivid light on the difficulties of interpretation which beset such a commentator when dealing with more subtle points of theology.

For the Catholic reader who can supply the needful correctives, this study of a great thinker will be very valuable; for it is richly documented and gives a wonderful picture of the period. The translation is rather pedestrian, but it does not spoil the original clarity and sympathy of the writer. John Howley.

A LINK BETWEEN FLEMISH MYSTICS AND ENGLISH MARTYRS. By C. S. Durrant. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1925. 15*s.*

A charming and delightful volume, well written, well printed, and well illustrated. Part I gives us a brilliant outline of the history of the great Flemish mystics, beginning with Blessed John Ruysbroeck, and closing with the martyrs of Gorcum. In about 150 pages we get a very full account of that wonderful religious movement which centred in Windesheim and left us as an immortal legacy "The Imitation of Christ." In Part II, we are shown how that movement influenced the fight for the Faith in England from the days of "ould King Harry" down to our own times. Chapter VII, "*A Conversion in the days of Charles II*," a tale told in the language of the time, but with the spelling modernised, reads like a romance. The whole of Part II is history as we ought to get it, living and real, a tale which should make English Catholics proud of their forbears, and give to Irish Catholics a sympathetic understanding of their Englsh brethren. JOHN HOWLEY.

EUCHARISTIE ET SACRE COEUR. Etude Comparative de Théologie et d'Histoire. Par L. Garriguet. Paris: Pierre Téqui. 1925. 362 pp. 14 *fr.*

IT is not often that a reviewer can agree without reservation to the publisher's description of a new work. But in the present instance one can subscribe to every word of the following announcement:—

> It has seemed interesting to the author to bring together these two devotions in a study that should be both theological and historical. In writing it he has not set out to compose a work of high erudition or research, although he has left no question in obscurity that he met along his path. He has only wished to enlighten piety by furnishing it with a resumé, simple, clear, methodical, complete and above all faithful, of Catholic teaching on two subjects which are very dear to the pious, and on which only too often they have somewhat vague notions . . . .
>
> It is difficult to imagine a theological work more interesting to read or more capable of nourishing devotion. The doctrine is exposed with such clarity that the least initiated will assimilate it without difficulty. Such a work will be equally useful to priests and laity. All will find in it ample matter for instruction and edification. It will lead souls to know better, love more, and receive more frequently Him who has said: "I am come to bring on earth the fire of holy love, and I only desire to see it kindled everywhere."

There is no element of exaggeration in these words. Père Garriguet has here given us a volume of rare interest and utility, which would well repay translation into English. The whole current of Catholic piety runs strongly in favour of these two

devotions; and nothing could be more opportune than to have the theology and history of both so solidly and clearly expounded. No devout Catholic able to read French can fail to find this book both attractive and helpful. It is a very successful attempt to make positive theology subserve the purpose of edification. From cover to cover it was a pleasure to read—happy in conception and skilful in execution. The plan of the work allowed the author to steer clear of scholastic disputes, and little that he says will raise controversy. Only once, on p. 106, did I feel inclined to serious dissent. There he writes:—

> The dispositions, even in a communicant who is not in the state of mortal sin, can leave so much to desire that the sacrament will produce little or no effect in the soul. Nay more, it is possible that, in certain cases, without there being sacrilege strictly so-called upon the part of the recipient, no grace at all will be conferred.

Père Garriguet admits that there is a considerable school to-day which denies this; but he holds that it is the teaching of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, and he prefers to rest on their authority. It is a pity that he did not give us the references. One would like to verify them, and see do they really overthrow the more commonly received opinion, that the sacrament always gives some minimum of grace *ex opere operato*, provided there is no pre-existing mortal sin or mortal sin in the act of receiving. P. J. Gannon.

THE UNKNOWN FORCE. By Rev. Robert Kane, S.J. London: Sands; St. Louis: Herder. 1925. 3s. 6d.

The many readers of Fr. Robert Kane's other works will find in this volume the same qualities that have often delighted them before. There is the same extremely individual style, with its intricate and constantly varying word-patterns; the same powerfully stamped imagery, the vivid sense of colour—alas! Fr. Kane has been blind for many years. There is the march of the argument, so strong and simple under the rich complexity of the phrase, that we hardly realise at first how far it is taking us into the heart of the deepest problems, and how massive is the theological and philosophical knowledge that guides it. There is the same deep love of God; the same passionate sympathy with human pain.

The "unknown force" is the charity of Christ, ignored by the world. Different aspects of it are studied in chapters composed on different occasions; one is a sermon in aid of a Magdalen asylum; another is a speech delivered at the fourth International Democratic Peace Congress in 1924.

The book is admirably produced by Messrs. Sands; the fount of type used is of real beauty. M. F. E.

Scripture

A HANDBOOK OF SCRIPTURE STUDY. Vol. II. *The Old Testament.* By Rev. H. Schumacher, D.D. London and St. Louis: Herder. 1925. 8s. net.

LE PLAN DE DIEU SUR LE MONDE. L'Epitre aux Romains. By Chanoine Geslin. Chez l'Auteur: Grand Séminaire de Séez (Orne). 1922. 10*fr.*

A SHORT GOSPEL DICTIONARY. By Rev. C. C. O'Connor. London: Sands. 1925. 2s. 6d.

Dr. Schumacher, who is the Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Catholic University of America, calls this new volume of his handbook an "outline of an Old Testament Introduction," and informs us that it is intended for seminaries. The plan of the work is simple. The books of the Old Testament are dealt with one by one. Each chapter begins with a bibliography, and further references to books and periodicals are given in connection with each important point as it arises. Then various topics pertaining to the criticism of the book in question—text, authorship, credibility, historical background, chronology and so forth, are dealt with very concisely, the views of modern rationalistic criticism being carefully stated. Finally there is a list of "problems." For the Pentateuch no less than fifty-eight problems are set down. None of these problems are, properly speaking, formulated, much lest solved. The bare heading is given. Thus for the Psalms the problems are thus stated:—1. The "Cursing Psalms"; 2. The Text of the Psalter; 3. The musical titles; 4. The Old Testament Psalter and the Babylonian Hymns, and so on. Such a list will no doubt be a convenience to advanced students and professors, especially when, as is often (but by no means always) the case, a reference is given to some book or review where the problem is discussed. The whole work is presented in tabular form and is highly condensed.

It is noteworthy that of the references throughout the book some eighty per cent. are to non-Catholic sources. For instance in the General Bibliography at the outset twelve or thirteen out of seventeen are non-Catholic. In the work itself there is no indication as to which of these sources are Catholic and which not. So that to use it with profit the guidance of a professor would be essential.

Of allusion to one aspect of the Bible I find here no trace, viz., to its meaning and value as literature, as sacred literature, its *message*, as we often say. But perhaps this would be outside the author's scope, which may best be described as strictly scientific.

For the author of *Le Plan de Dieu sur le Monde*, while the scientific side is not neglected, it is the message aspect that is the vital thing. Indeed he describes his work as "à base scientifique, à but apostolique." His entire effort is devoted to expounding the *content* of St. Paul's great epistle. His commentary is expository rather than critical. His method is original. He divides the Epistle into twenty-nine "Leçons" (not lessons in the English sense) corresponding to the natural divisions of the text. Each of these consists of: 1. The Latin text and a French translation from the Greek original; 2. Brief textual explanations; 3. An elaborate analysis of the thought and argument arranged in schematic form; 4. The Commentary. He has dropped out all the usual cumbersome erudition—heterodox views, numerous references to other commentaries, parallel texts and passages from extra-Biblical literature, etc., etc.

Having wrestled with the difficulties and obscurities of the Epistle to the Romans, we cannot repress a feeling of wonder, a little sceptical be it confessed, at the completeness and facility of the Canon's exposition. We wonder, too, whether the thought of the great Apostle was quite so schematic as it appears in the "schémas" of the author. But Canon Geslin's exposition is, on the whole, thoroughly sound and edifying in the best sense.

Father O'Connor has written brief elucidations of the principal topics a knowledge of which would help an average student of the Gospels and has arranged them in alphabetical order. Glancing through the work we notice such matters as Festivals, Magi, Money, Palestine in Our Lord's time, Parable, Satan, Synoptics, Temple, and so forth. The author contrives to make the information conveyed very simple and intelligible. It is also reliable, being drawn from the best sources. There was previously nothing quite of this kind. There was, indeed, Hasting's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, a valuable work but not quite reliable for Catholics. So that Father O'Connor has put all Catholic students in his debt.

S. J. B.

Miscellaneous

THE DEFENSE OF THE CHILD BY FRENCH NOVELISTS. By Clifford Stetson Parker, Ph.D., Columbia University. Menasha: George Banta Publishing Co. 1925. $2.00.

This book, though full of interesting matter, leaves the reader somewhat disconcerted. For it is based on two curious assumptions, that literature ought to busy itself with social problems and social propaganda, and that its evidence is to some extent con-

clusive on these subjects. The drift of the book is mixed, and is much more sociological than literary. The author has a vivid sense of the social evils that affect childhood, and definite ideas of the means by which they may be remedied: legal enactments about foster-mothers, about child-labour, and the status of illegitimate children; increased protection for orphans; increased facilities and regulations for divorce; "proper," *i.e.*, free, compulsory, non-ecclesiastical, humane schooling for all children; and the weakening of legal parental control. Though he seems to favour some things that are entirely repugnant to Catholic morality, we can follow him in his generous indignation against many abuses. Besides, such pictures as he brings together from novelists give on the whole a brighter impression—and he readily admits it—of Catholic than of lay training establishments; and in the more harrowing descriptions of school and private life the actors are entirely devoid of religion. On the *école maternelle*, he seems to corroborate Léon Frapié's view that it is ineffective until society succeeds in redeeming the children's souls by abolishing the slums. "The school's basic moral doctrine is respect for the family; and the families of the slums cannot be respected." Writing of Daudet's *Jack*, he says: "It is too bad that such mothers exist. Daudet was painting quite closely from life. We can only hope that such women will be few and far between."

Of course the defect of such a study, the moment it tries to get beyond pure literature, is that it cannot possibly be exhaustive, and that in any case it proves little. Even the series of lurid pictures of French *lycées*—which have some cumulative force—are drawn, as our author points out, from the experience of exceptionally sensitive children, and are in part autobiographical, and sometimes quite declamatory. So we may perhaps sum up the book by saying that the author is a keen and even moving advocate of the Rights of the Child; that he takes them chiefly to mean the right to physical well-being and immediate happiness; that he hopes to see them secured by a continued series of legal enactments, already pursued in France by the Third Republic; and that "not only have certain French novelists been carried along by the stream; they have helped to swell it. Thanks to THE DEFENSE OF THE CHILD by sociologists, legislators, and novelists, we are now living in THE CENTURY OF THE CHILD."

This is the author's conclusion, and it strikes us as inconclusive.

M. R.

S. THOMAE DE AQUINO SUMMA OPUSCULORUM. Auctore B. Kruitwagen, O.F.M. 1924. 10*fr.*

LA LITTERATURE QUODLIBETIQUE DE 1260 à 1320. Par l' Abbé P. Glorieux. 1924. 25*fr.*

AUTOUR DU DECRET DE 1210. I. David de Dinant. Par J. Théry, O.P. 1925. 12*fr.*

Bibliothèque Thomiste—Le Saulchoir, Kain (Belgigue)

The Dominican Fathers of the French province continue to set an example to all students of medieval philosophy and theology. Here are three new works all indebted to the grant from the *Société Thomiste* for their publication ; and it is pleasant to note that the series is no longer confined to Dominican authors. Father Glorieux's volume is perhaps the most valuable of the three, and embodies research work of many years. It aims at dating and classifying all the extant *Quodlibeta* which belong to the greatest period of scholastic literary activity, and the mass of detail accumulated by this learned French priest will stimulate historical research in many quarters. A general introduction gives an account of medieval disputations—*Quodlibeta*, *Quaestiones Disputatae* and the rest—which should prove especially valuable to the historian of educational method.

Father Kruitwagen publishes the *textus princeps* (first printed in 1485) of the *Opuscula* of St. Thomas. Father Théry completes a study, part of which has already appeared in the *Mélanges Thomistes* (1923), published in this series. David of Dinant was condemned as a heretic by a Council of French bishops in 1210. The Council's decree is chiefly famous for a clause which forbade the use of Aristotle's *libri de naturali philosophia* in the University of Paris. Who was David, and why was he condemned along with Aristotle and a certain Amaury de Bène ? Father Théry has been enabled to answer these questions by a careful study of the many references—direct and indirect—made by Albert the Great and St. Thomas to the teaching of David. These two great Aristotelians were anxious to clear their master of any connection with the doctrine that God was identical with the *materia prima* of the world ; *quemadmodum David de Dinando stultissime dixit*, as St. Thomas says in his *Summa*. Nobody is likely to renew that particular heresy now-a-days, partly because our modern Pantheists are not capable of such clear thought. But the study of David's errors enables Father Théry to throw much light on the intellectual life of Paris in and about 1210 A.D., and he promises us a second volume on kindred topics. We shall soon be able to add another chapter to the much-neglected story of Aristotle's *Fortgeschichte* prior to the Renaissance. A. G.

Books also received:

ANET, CLAUDE ... La Fin d'un Monde. (Grasset, 9 fr.).

AUBREY, AUGUSTIN ... L'Etude de l'Ecriture Sainte dans les Grandes Séminaries. (Téqui).

BAUDOT, DOM J. ... Martyrologe Romain. Traduction française avec introduction et notes. (Tralin, 30 fr.).

BAUDIN, R. P. ... Préparation à la Mort à faire chaque jour. (Téqui, 1.50 fr.)

BAYER, DR. F. J. ... The Book of the Popes. Translated by E. M. Lamond. (Methuen, 7/6).

BUTLER, ELENOR ... The Irish Student's Geography. Part II. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 3/6).

BUXTON, SIR THOMAS Memoirs. With an Introduction by Lord Buxton. Everyman's Library, No. 773. (Dent, 2/–).

CARRINGTON, H. ... Spiritualism a Fact. (Boston: Stratford Co., $2.50).

CHAUMONT, CHANOINE Ce que c'est que la Société des Prêtres de S. François de Sales (Téqui.).

CLARKE, W. K. L. ... The Ascetic Works of S. Basil. Translated into English, with Introductory Notes. (S.P.C.K., 12/6).

CROSNIER, J. ... Pourquoi le Coeur de Jésus désire la S. Communion. (Téqui, 2 fr.).

DE SMET, AL. ... Tractatus Dogmatico-Moralis. De Sacramentis in Genere, de Baptismo et Confirmatione. (Bruges: Beyaert, 25 fr.).

DOWSLEY, W. G. ... Travelling Men. (Talbot Press, 3/–).

EATON, MARY ... The Faith for Children. (Sands, 2/6).

EATON. ROBERT ... The Ministry of Reconciliation. Chapters on Confession. (Sands, 2/6).

FARNELL, LEWIS R. ... The Attributes of God. Gifford Lectures, 1924-1925. (Clarendon Press, 12/6).

FRENCH, PERCY ... Prose, Poems, and Parodies. (Talbot Press, 5/–).

GARRIGUET, L. ... Lectures pour le Mois des Morts. (Téqui, 7 fr. 50).

GAVAN DUFFY, T. ... The Price of Dawning Day. (Boston: Propagation of the Faith Office, 7/6).

GUILDAY, PETER ... An Introduction to Church History. (Herder, 8/–).

HARRIS, J. ... ... A First Course in Economics. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 2/–,

HERMANT, ABEL ... Platon. (Grasset, 9 fr.).

HOLWECK, FREDERICK Calendarium Liturgicum Festorum Dei Matris Mariae. (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, $7.50).

JOHNSON, SAMUEL ... Lives of the English Poets. Everyman's Library, Nos. 770-771. (Dent, 2/– each).

JULIEN, MGR. E. L. ... Les Promesses Evangéliques. (Téqui, 5 fr.).

KANE, ROBERT ... The Unknown Force. (Sands, 3/6).

LANIER, HENRI ... Le Portrait de Notre-Dame par S. François de Sales. (Téqui, 1 fr. 50).

LEONARD, JOSEPH ... S. Vincent de Paul and Mental Prayer. (Burns, O. W., 10/6).

LETURIA, PEDRO ... La Accion diplomatica de Bolivar ante Pio VII., 1820-1823, a la luz del Archivo Vaticano. Madrid: *Razón y Fe*).

MCKEE, J. R. ... Dame Elizabeth Barton, O.S.B. The Holy Maid of Kent. (Burns, O. W., 2/–).

MACKINNON, JAMES ... Luther and the Reformation. Vol. I. Early Life and Religious Development to 1517. (Longmans, 16/–).

MACMANUS, M. F. ... A Green Jackdaw. Adventures in Parody. (Talbot Press, 2/6).

MANN, MGR. HORACE The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages. Vol. XIII. Honorius III. to Celestine IV. (Kegan Paul, 15/–).

MAGENNIS, RT. REV. P. Life and Times of the Prophet of Carmel. (Gill, 12/6).

MASSOUTIE, G. ... Les Noms Juifs. (Téqui).

MATHEWS, JOHN ... County Louth. Its Antiquities and Traditions. (Dundalk: *Examiner* Office, 1/–).

MURPHY, L. ... ... Poems of New and Old Ireland. (Talbot Press, 3/–).

MURRAY, ROBERT ... Science and Scientists in the XIX Century. (Sheldon Press, 12/6).

NEEDHAM, JOSEPH ... Science, Religion, and Reality. (Sheldon Press, 12/6).

O'CONNOR, C. C. ... A Short Gospel Dictionary. (Sands, 2/6).

O'DONNELL, PEADAR ... Storm. A Story of the Irish War. (Talbot Press, 3/6).

Books also received—*continued.*

OTTEN, BERNARD ... Institutiones Dogmaticae. Tomus VI. De Sacramentis Poenitentiae, E. Unctionis, Ordinis, Matrimonii. (Loyola University Press, $3.75).

PAULEY, W. C. DE ... Punishment, Human and Divine. (S.P.C.K., 7/6).

PEERS, E. ALLISON ... Thoughts of Blessed Ramon Lull. (Burns, O. W., 2/6).

PHILIBIN, AN ... The Sun-Child. (Talbot Press, 2/6).

PURDON, K. F. ... The Folk of Furry Farm. New ed. (Talbot Press, 5/-).

RESTREPO, FELIX ... Los Grandes Maestros de la Doctrina Cristiana. Tomus I. San Augustin. (Madrid: *Razon y Fe*, 3.50 pesetas).

RIGAULT, GEORGES ... Martyrs de la Nouvelle France. Extraits des Relations et Lettres des Missionaires Jésuites. (Editions Spes, 20 fr.).

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